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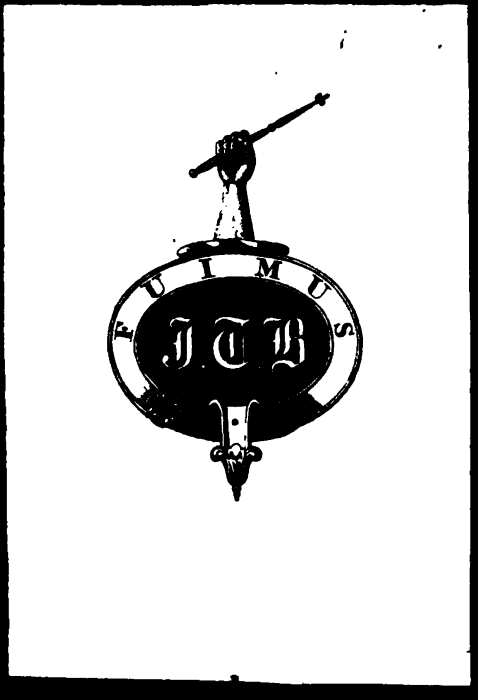

MEMOIR

OF

VICE-ADMIRAL SIR JAHLEEL BRENTON,

BARONET, K.C.B.

CHESTER:
Printed by T. Thomas, Eastgate Row.

MEMOIR

OF THE

LIFE AND SERVICES OF VICE-ADMIRAL

SIR JAHLEEL BRENTON,

BARONET, K. C. B.

EDITED BY

THE REV. HENRY RAIKES,

CHANCELLOR OF THE DIOCESE OF CHESTER.

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1846.

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Dedication.

TO LADY BRENTON.

Dear Lady Brenton,

In dedicating to you the Memoir of which I have been permitted to be the Editor, I cannot but feel how inadequate the portrait, which I have been endeavouring to sketch, must appear to you, to whom it now is offered.

I undertook the work indeed, chiefly from a sense of public duty; though without much hope that I should satisfy myself, or those by whom the charge was entrusted to me. It seemed fit and proper, that the world should be made acquainted with a character of such rare and peculiar excellence as that of your husband; and I felt that it was due to the naval service generally, and in particular to the younger members of it, that they should see how qualities of a very different kind might be combined in one man; and might render him, who was the ornament of his profession, a model of what man ought to be in every relation of life. My desire therefore was to do good to others, rather than to do justice to my subject; and instead of dwelling, as to you might seem natural and proper; on those various graces which endeared him to all, and to those most, who knew him best; I have

endeavoured to shew what he was, by describing his behaviour under the several trials of his eventful life; and to extend the benefit of his example by making it more generally known.

I dare not suppose, therefore, that the offer of the following Memoir should have any other value in your eyes, than as a token of the affectionate remembrance, with which I dwell upon the character of your much loved husband. In this respect, had I attempted more, I should not have succeeded better; for language never satisfies the requirements of the heart; and you would still have felt, that the half was yet unsaid; after I had written all that I could, in endeavouring to express my admiration and regard.

My chief anxiety is, that the volume may be in some degree acceptable to those, whose benefit has been always contemplated during its preparation; and that the navy may not lose the benefit, which the example of Sir Jahleel Brenton is so well calculated to give. In my solicitude to secure this object, I have retained as much as possible of the language of the original memorial, which forms the basis of the narrative. I have sacrificed all attempt at forming a regular biography, that I might preserve its originality. I have allowed inequalities of style to remain, which may offend fastidious minds, that I might not weaken the effect of particular expressions; and the little that I have ventured to add, has chiefly been done for the purpose of enabling readers to draw those inferences from the events recorded, which he, writing with another object in view, and regarding what was written as merely a memorial addressed to his children, naturally assumed as certain to be drawn by those for whom he wrote, and did not think it necessary to add.

In these respects I have endeavoured to speak with the reserve, which should be felt when professional questions are discussed by one, who is a stranger to them; and trust, that I have only said, what he would have wished to have added under similar circumstances. It is satisfactory to me, however, to think, that whatever may be the deficiencies of the Memoir, it will at least draw attention to the man, while his qualities still linger in the recollection of his friends and his associates; for if the narrative does but lead to enquiry as to the character of the subject, I feel that there is no doubt as to the result that may be expected.

Though I feel it necessary therefore to apologize to you for the very inadequate portrait that is now presented, I am not without hope, that under God's blessing, the exhibition of such a life may be beneficial to the world; and if this be the case, I trust that you will merge private disappointment in the consideration of general good, and be satisfied with what is done, in the hope it may do good to others. As for the comfort to be derived from such a memorial, I know you need it not; and would not seek it in such monuments as man can raise. Your consolation under loss is drawn from higher sources, and needs not the support of human praise bestowed on him, who was dearer to you than life itself. The recollection of his holy, humble walk, of his work of faith, his labour of love, his cheerful submission to pain, his forgetfulness of self, and his zeal for the good of others, forms for you a source of comfort, which no human honour can equal, and no earthly possession rival. This is your real consolation, and to the convictions on which this rests, the opinion of the world can add nothing.

But though you do not look to such a memorial as this for the comfort that you need; I am willing to hope, that if it should be the means of doing good; if it should make the memory of him you loved, as beneficial as his example was, it may be acceptable. The great and the good live not for their own generation only, but for those that follow. They bequeath their characters to mankind; and it seems an act of justice to them to collect, and to offer to public notice, the record of efforts which may awaken the emulation, or strengthen the faith of others; and lead them to excellence by the knowledge of the victories atchieved by those who went before them.

If it should please God, then, to make this imperfect notice of Sir Jahleel Brenton's course useful to that service of which he was so bright an ornament while living; you will forgive the insufficiency of the representation which meets your eye; and I shall be thankful, if in paying this tribute of respect to the memory of a friend whom I revered and loved, I can communicate any of his feelings to that profession, to which the country owes so large a debt of gratitude.

Believe me to remain,

Most truly and faithfully your's,

H. RAIKES.

CHESTER, SEPT. 30th.

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MEMOIR

OF

VICE ADMIRAL SIR JAHLEEL BRENTON, K. C. B.

BARONET.

IT may appear presumptuous in one not connected with the naval service, to attempt the biography of an officer so distinguished as Sir Jahleel Brenton; and it may appear a graver, a less excusable offence, that one belonging to another profession, and that a profession, which requires the devotion of the whole mind to its own peculiar objects, should be undertaking an office so foreign from his usual employment and proper duties. I have, therefore, no hesitation in saying, that if Sir Jahleel Brenton had merely been the man, whom the world knew through the medium of gazettes, and the record of public services, and looked up to as a gallant and distinguished officer; whatever might have been my feelings towards him as a personal friend, whatever my admiration of him as a public character, I never should have undertaken the office, which I am now attempting to discharge.

I must also add, that under other circumstances I must have shrunk from the duty, as involving enquiries which I had neither leisure nor means to prosecute; if its labours had not been so far anticipated by documents drawn up by his own hand, and left to his family; that little more seemed left to his biographer, than to arrange that which was already written; and to select out of a memorial designed for the benefit and instruction of his own children, those parts which might be offered to the public, without trespassing on the sacredness of a private, a domestic record.

I must again mention, that I was aware that even this portion of my duty was anticipated, and would be performed in my behalf by one, who, with a single exception, might be regarded as most identified in feelings, views, and mind, with the subject of the memoir.

The delicate and difficult task of selecting from a long and confidential memoir, written with all the fulness of a father's heart, and intended to be perused as a sort of sacred record by his children; oftentimes too minute or too particular for publication; and still exhibiting in general so much of the character that it was desired to pourtray, that it was difficult to know how to resist insertion; this task was, I say, undertaken by another, who has discharged it with as much fidelity as discretion; and who left nothing to me, but to peruse and confirm that, which had been thus arranged and prepared for the press.

But even these advantages; assisted and increased as they are by the affectionate recollections of the

members of his own family; while they promised to render the labour of the undertaking easy, would have been insufficient to determine me to attempt a work for which I was so incompetent, if I had proposed to offer to the public a memoir of the professional life, and of the naval achievements of the man whom it was impossible to know without honouring or loving him. But this seemed unnecessary to be done, and certainly was not to be done by me. His public services, both as a seaman and an officer, have been long known and fully appreciated by the public, and thus have had their appropriate record in the naval histories of the last war. His professional character still lives in the recollection of the service. It therefore is not necessary that naval events should be narrated here, which have been better told in other places; nor that exploits should be dwelt upon, which though they never can be heard without emotion, it may be sufficient for all present purposes to refer to, rather than to repeat.

I would, therefore, beg leave to state at once, that the only aim I venture to propose to myself, is one which differs essentially from that, which has been generally followed by the writers of similar memoirs.

I am not anxious to describe the subject of my narrative, in the form in which he was known and honoured by the world; but in that in which he was known to those who lived with him, and served with him; to his family and his friends; to the men who shared his hardships and dangers, as well as his successes and triumphs. I am not attempting to represent him as the man of courage, enterprise and

decision, formed for the hour of peril and contest, fitted to lead and direct the energies of his service, and carrying every heart with him, from the enthusiasm which his example inspired; but I am desirous to shew that those qualities, for which the world would easily give him credit, were united with elements of which the world knew little, and perhaps thought less; but which had their effect in forming the general character of the man, and made him what he was in the different relations of life. I feel it due to him, and still more to those who may be profited by his example, to trace the peculiar qualities of his character to their source, and to shew the principles from which they flowed; so that if there be in his life any thing lovely and of good report; and this there is no one who ever knew him that can doubt; it may be referred to its proper cause, and be ascribed to that, which he himself knew, and felt to be the origin.

It will be my aim, therefore, in these pages, chiefly to dwell on those features of mind, which though seen by few and observed by few, gave to his whole character its peculiar dignity and grace. I shall endeavour to shew, that the courage and enterprise, the firmness and self-resource which rendered him while he lived the ornament of his profession, were accompanied by qualities, not generally found in combination with these, but which enhanced their value, and contributed to their excellence; with patience, with meekness, with the tenderest consideration for others, and the most unbounded benevolence. I wish to shew, that the brilliancy of his public life was equalled by the purity

and correctness of his private life: that he was as amiable in every domestic relation, as he was admirable in all official duties: and still knew how to keep the warmth of his affections, in such subordination, that the call which summoned him from that home, where all his happiness was centered, was obeyed without a question or a doubt, whenever the interests of his country and the service required it. Above all, I wish to shew, that the secret, but the only cause of this unusual combination of qualities, not often found in his profession, and sometimes considered as incompatible with it; was that instinctive subjection of the heart to God, which growing as he grew, and gaining strength and expansion by the trials of his life, raised him from the state of a conscientious and upright man, to that of a mature and confirmed Christian; which sustained him under the various difficulties and burdens of his lot, by teaching him to look to God in all emergencies, and to cast himself on His mercy under every doubt; which finally regulated the enquiries which it prompted, and realizing the divine promises, "that the meek shall He guide in judgment," "that God giveth grace to the humble," brought him through all the conflict of religious opinions, to that simple child-like faith, which formed the substance of his happiness in life, as well as of his hope in decay.

The description of a character such as this, together with a narrative of the events under which it was formed and perfected, may, under God's blessing, be made profitable to many; and as the circumstances of his story are such as must interest every reader, it is

to be hoped that the memoir of such a man may be offered without presumption to the world at large, as including much that may be generally useful as well as amusing. But there is one class of readers to whose attention it may be more particularly recommended, and to whose improvement and welfare it is specifically dedicated. I mean the young aspirants to honour and distinction in the navy, the rising members of that profession, of which Sir Jahleel was so fine a specimen; and for whom he always felt and expressed so strong and so paternal an interest. I could wish, that they who are taught to emulate his character as an officer, and who are animated by hearing of the gallantry of his actions, should know more of the man whom they are led to admire, than can be learnt from gazettes or naval histories; and that they should be made acquainted with the real secret of the excellence which is held up to them as a model for imitation. I wish that they should know from his example, that the most brilliant courage, the greatest firmness in action, and the most perfect self-possession in the moment of danger, are not only compatible with deep religious impressions, and personal piety; but that they never can be looked for with so much confidence, nor will ever be found so largely developed, as when combined with these as the habitual principles of the life. And as example is generally more conclusive than theory, it seems expedient that they should above all others be reminded, that the man, who in his day, was the model of all we wish to imagine in a British officer, and a British seaman; the man whose daring courage made him

at one time the chosen associate and friend of Sir Sidney Smith; who was afterwards selected by that acute and discriminating judge of character, Lord St. Vincent, out of the number of eminent and gallant officers around him; and appointed to situations which required all the combination of naval skill and firmness; was, and avowed himself to be, in the full sense of the word, a Christian; confessed Christ and His words in every situation, and under every circumstance with uncompromising firmness; and still maintained his profession of religion with such gentleness and dignity, that those who differed from him never failed to respect and to love him; and could not help venerating the man, even while they felt that his principles condemned their practice.

In this point, indeed, a memoir of Sir Jahleel Brenton seems an important opportunity for bringing the example of such a man before the younger members of his profession as a model for imitation; and an office which might have been urged upon me, as due to the memory of a deceased friend; and might still have been urged in vain, to one so occupied and pledged to other duties; may be viewed in a different way, when it is considered in reference to those who may be benefited by acquaintance with his character, and are not likely to know from other sources what were its peculiar and distinctive qualities.

The name and profession of the editor will, therefore, it is hoped preclude the possibility of disappointment to those, who having been attracted by the title of this memoir, may take up the volume as a subject of mere

professional interest, a record of naval struggles or naval triumphs. The achievements of Sir Jahleel Brenton have been already appropriately recorded, and may be read elsewhere by those who wish to enquire into his services It is proposed to give to the public now, that which the public has not hitherto known, but which may be profitable to general readers; and which must be full of value to those of his own profession; the narrative of a life not unmarked with trial, not devoid of the interest arising from great dangers undergone, and great qualities of mind and heart evinced in meeting them; but exhibiting in the midst of these, and of other circumstances not less perplexing or less afflicting; that consistency of moral conduct, that steady persevering patience, that cheerful hope, and child-like submission to the will of God, and above all, that uniform and prevailing benevolence of spirit, which belong to the Christian character, and which flow from the one single principle of Christian faith. That the union of these qualities may be seen in many individuals at present in the royal navy, I am thankful to believe and know; but their occurrence is not so general as to render example useless; while we also know, that men are more easily led to imitate the practice of one, who has taken his place in the annals of his country, than that of contemporaries; and that no line of conduct can be so safely recommended for adoption, as that which has already won the esteem and admiration of the world. I trust, therefore, that the memoir of such an officer as Sir Jahleel Brenton may be no unacceptable offering to a

service, which must ever be regarded with the deepest gratitude and interest, as the instrument of God's protecting providence to this country, and as the means of enlarging its beneficial influence ; and I hope that the hours, withdrawn from other duties and given to this, have been transferred rather than stolen, and transferred to purposes of wider usefulness and more extensive good, than those which belong to ordinary employment.

In my own profession, the biography of pious and devoted men has long been regarded as one of the most profitable lines of reading. It has been felt that the knowledge of truth is likely to be most effective when combined with its application, and exhibited in practice ; and as example is generally admitted to be more powerful than precept, and men are more easily led to imitate than to obey ; the memorials of those who have been eminent for zeal and holiness in the work of the ministry, have been multiplied largely of late years, and are recommended with confidence as among the most effectual means of raising the tone of feeling and determining the line of practice among the clergy. In this respect, every year adds to the resources of the church. Those who are removed from this field of labour testify to the living. One generation contributes the encouragement of its experience to the other ; and each pious, faithful, and zealous minister, whose labour and self-devotion are commemorated in this way, leaves in the record of his example that which may strengthen the faith, or stimulate the energies of those who are to follow him.

But while the church as a profession, is receiving this increasing advantage, and sees its means of improvement enlarged by the recollections of those who are removed from their field of suffering or of labour; there is reason to presume that other professions are not equally benefited by the biographies of their distinguished members. They also have their memorials. The world is anxious to learn the particulars of their early life and education, as well as of their subsequent achievements; and those who are called to imitate their example or to rival their exertions, are naturally desirous to study the secret of their excellence in the causes which conduced to it. But in cases such as these, in the narratives of men who have been distinguished in the naval and military services, or even in the profession of law or medicine, it is natural that professional excellence should form the chief object of attention to those who write, as it is probable it will be the chief object of interest to those who read. The soldier and the sailor, the lawyer and the physician are described, rather than the man; and the qualities which raised the individual to distinction, are in these cases so separate from those, which formed his value as a man, that it is possible the latter may be wholly lost sight of, while every effort is being made to do justice to the former. There is danger, therefore, in all such memorials, that much that is great and good in the individual, may be merged in the merits of the officer, or in the brilliancy of the career pursued in practice; and that private excellence, that which constitutes the real foundation of the man's value, and

makes his life most profitable as an example, may be lost sight of, while justice is being done to that which only made him an ornament to his profession, or an instrument of national advancement.

In a clergyman on the contrary, the chief if not the only claim that he can possess on the recollection of others, the only sense in which his life can be held up as an example to those of his own profession, consists in his personal piety; in the remembrance of that eminence to which the grace of God had raised him, as a holy, humble-minded, faithful man; and that is, therefore, told of him, and that is dwelt upon in him, which it is most useful for other men to know, but which is equally and alike useful to all of every profession and of every rank. The world estimates its heroes by a different rule, and looks in consequence to qualities of a different kind. It dwells on that which is professional to the exclusion of that which is personal. It dwells on those things which catch the eye, and fill the ear, and arrest the imagination; while that which passes within, that which constitutes moral eminence, and which renders a man a model for a Christian to follow, is overlooked in the more exciting narrative of contests for distinction, as irrelevant to the character which is being exhibited; and thus, the benefit of example, in cases such as these, is lost to men, because men are more interested in results, than in causes; in the things that have been done, than in the principles of those who did them; and regard the subjects of biography as successful candidates for the world's applause, rather than as models for private imitation.

It has also sometimes happened, that religious feelings, when strongly developed, have led a man to withdraw from the active duties of his profession, either in the army or navy; and have made his example less profitable to others, by making it less peculiar, less specific than it would have been, if he had continued where he was; and thus, these professions have lost a benefit, which seemed to be their right, by losing those individuals whose moral character would have reflected additional lustre on their public services. It is impossible, indeed, to deny that the first impulse of strong religious conviction, must lead a man to wish to withdraw from every thing that separates him from God; and to live to Him alone, whom he has now found to be alone worth living for. It is equally certain, that the fear of falling back, the dread of being entangled again in sins, which the soul has learnt to hate, may reasonably lead a man to fly from associations, which he knows from experience to be dangerous; and to endeavour to secure his own weakness by saving it from exposure. Excellent men are continually found arguing and acting in this manner; and where the grounds are so reasonable, and the object at stake of such incalculable importance, it is not easy to resist or to controvert their plea. But if some feel it necessary to quit the field, and to withdraw from a contest they are unfit to meet, or in which they see reason to distrust their means of standing firm; the greater must be our gratitude for those who venture to remain, and who dare to be strong in the Lord, and in the power of His might.

The testimony that they then bear, is one of peculiar value; and we may venture to hope, that where the danger is considered before it is braved, and man only exposes himself from the conviction of duty, and under the confidence of support from heaven, he will not be allowed to fail. As his days are, so shall his strength be; and we may trust that God, who sees the principle on which the man continues at the post of danger, will not forsake His faithful sentinel, but will make His grace sufficient for his trial, and cause his own strength to be perfected in the weakness of His servant.

On this principle we cannot doubt, that the determination to which Colonel Gardiner came, and in which he was encouraged by the excellent Doddridge, to continue in his original calling, and not to quit the army when he came under deep convictions of religion, has rendered him a far greater blessing to the world, than he could have been, had he yielded to his first impressions, and left the service. His memoir would in that case have remained a record of the unspeakable goodness of God. He might have edified the world by the piety of his life, and he might have been named to succeeding generations as a monument of Divine Grace, rescuing man from the bondage of sin, and plucking him like a brand out of the fire. But the memoir, as it now stands, is rendered still more valuable by the testimony of his later life, and by the evidence it contains to that faith by which he lived; and the power of the grace of God is manifested more signally in upholding him amidst the opposition

which he at one time thought himself incapable of meeting, than in enabling him to fly from it at first. Whatever might have been thought then of Colonel Gardiner's determination at the time, there can be no doubt, that Christ was more nobly confessed in the midst of a sinful and adulterous generation, than He could have been in the retirement of religious life; and that the doctrine of the gospel was more visibly adorned by the example of one, who lived in the world without belonging to the world, than it could have been by the piety which withdrew its subject from general observation, and led him to seek security by withdrawing from the scene of temptation. But it is obvious that tho value of such memoirs is enhanced by their rarity. Probably from the causes which have been enumerated, the narratives which exhibit the moral and religious character of men belonging to the army or navy are comparatively few; and those professions in consequence lack the benefit, which example and experience offer in other cases.

But the loss is not confined to them. There are reasons why it may be regarded as a general, a public loss; and why all may have cause to regret that which seems to be a professional want. Whether it be that the character of these two professions, whether it be that the familiarity with danger, the necessity for energetic action and quick decision, carries into the religion they profess, something of its own nature, and leaves its own particular stamp and impress on its qualities; it seems admitted, that the men who have been called by the grace of God to a profession of religion, under

such circumstances, have been, generally speaking, marked and decided Christians. It was a centurion of the Roman army to whom Christ bore that noble testimony, that "He had not found so great faith, no not in Israel; and we may reasonably think that that power of grace which sets the soul at liberty in cases such as his, and enables it to break the ties by which it has been bound, may go on and carry it to higher attainments than are accessible to other men. But it may be also confidently asserted, that if the testimony which is there borne to truth, is not more clear and decided than in common instances, it is more unquestioned and more unquestionable. The statement that comes from one, born and bred under the influence of religion, is always liable to suspicion. It probably may bear upon its surface some traces of the work of man, in the tone which education has given to the habits of the mind, to the language and opinions; and in that respect, it may seem to want the simplicity which belongs to the works of God, and which shews the source from which the impressions spring. But let the tone of religion be what it may, it carries a sort of professional stamp upon it, and is less appreciated than it ought to be, whenever men think that it is the effect of circumstances, the result of care, and that it could not have been otherwise. On the other hand, whenever it happens that conviction is effected under different circumstances, when religion is found growing where it was least expected, and where it is obvious that there was nothing to favour or encourage it;

when it is found taking its stand in the midst of opposition and rebuke; overcoming the world by a power which is not of the world, and which the world cannot understand; and enabling a man to resist the persecution of which the world is most sensitive, the persecution of ridicule and contempt, exercised by associates or superiors, and applied with little consideration or regard for feeling; when this is seen to be the case, then we cannot be surprised, if the world is convinced that an influence more than human is at work; while it sees that done, which seems to be impossible to man; and men are compelled to feel that it is the power of God by which the change is effected, while they see a change accomplished, which to them, and according to their own views and feelings, is nothing less than miraculous. The unwillingness of the heart to admit a truth which involves its own condemnation, will naturally induce men to suppress the acknowledgement of what they feel on such occasions. But the conviction may be deep, though no confession follows. The testimony which is borne to truth under circumstances such as these, will possess an authority and weight which nothing else can give, from a sacred and unuttered reverence of the power that has produced it; and the results may be perceived at distant times and in distant places, when the facts had been forgotten by all, except the persons who had appeared at first most opposed or most indifferent.

But beyond these reasons, which may shew the value of the memoirs of men belonging to the naval and military professions, it cannot be denied that the

situations in which such men are placed, and those qualities which may be called their professional qualities, must add an interest to the narrative; and make their examples more profitable, in proportion as their lives have been more interesting. The narrative of hardships endured, of dangers braved, has always been one of the most legitimate sources of delight. The description of man rising superior to the fear which overcomes and subjugates others; daring things, from which other men shrink; and making a way through difficulties which seemed insuperable; has ever possessed a charm which no other narrative could rival; and while human nature remains what it is, and the world is constituted as it is, the qualities of courage, energy, and activity, will give an interest to the character with general readers, which the higher graces of humility, patience, and love might be incapable of imparting. But as it is important that truth should be presented in the form most likely to secure its acceptance, no opportunity should be lost which offers religion to the eyes of the world in the history of those, whom it respects and admires for excellencies of another kind; and whenever religion is combined with these, it is little less than an absolute duty to give publicity to the character, and to admit the world to benefit by the example.

Whatever then be the quality which excites admiration, whether it be professional talent, or intellectual superiority; or whether it be simply that energy of mind which enables man to overcome difficulties and to struggle through trials; the certainty that the exhibition of such a character will be read with interest,

makes it valuable as a vehicle for truth; and renders it desirable that such a vehicle should be improved. But we must also feel that of all the various qualities which have this effect, and which may in consequence be turned to such a purpose, there is hardly one which arrests attention so generally, and carries so much interest with it to common readers, as boldness or contempt of danger. All men cannot appreciate the higher qualities of mind, the powers of reasoning or imagination, which lead to literary or political eminence; but all seem capable of understanding the value of that sort of firmness which enables man to bear hardships, or to rise superior to fear. It thus has happened, that in all works of fiction, courage has been the principal feature of the character held up to admiration, and cowardice has always been regarded as the reverse; while we know that in real life, no narratives have been so acceptable to general readers, as those which described dangers and hardships met and overcome by the firmness and energy of those, who were exposed to them.

There need therefore be no hesitation in saying, that as every thing which raises man above the weaknesses of his nature, adds dignity to his character; the contempt of danger must always entitle him to respect; and this feeling which adds a sort of grandeur to the bad, gives a sort of heroic magnificence to the good.

But while we believe that this admiration of courage is inherent in our very nature, and is felt even by those who are unwilling to confess it; we cannot be surprised if the admiration which is due to courage, comes gradually to be limited to such courage as a Christian is

capable of exercising. The boldness which shuts its eye on danger, and rushes on destruction, may astonish, but it cannot continue to interest the mind, because it does not satisfy the reason. Men gradually cool on their impressions, and begin to calculate instead of wondering. They examine the principle of the action which is set before them. They compare the risk run with the advantage to be gained; and if they find the risk infinitely exceeding the value of the prize, or perceive that it was braved under the mere impulse of passion, in defiance of reason rather than in subordination to reason; they learn to separate the courage of the animal from that of the man, and expect that the boldness of the latter should be regulated by that which is the glory of his nature; and that even his daring should be reasonable in order that it should be honoured. In this way the world distinguishes the frenzy of the drunkard, or that recklessness of life which is found in the infuriated savage, from the well ordered deliberate firmness, with which a disciplined mind meets every emergency of trial; and refuses the very name of courage to the madness, which rushes on death, from the mere impulse of excited passion.

But under circumstances which seem more favourable; after the first comparison has been made between the object sought and the danger run; and there has been found reason enough to justify the exposure according to the world's principles; another comparison is apt to follow, which is conducted on Christian principles, and subjects courage, or contempt of death, to a different analysis. To a Christian mind death is

invariably connected with the judgment that is to follow. Viewed as the end of the present state of being, it is necessarily considered as the entrance to that which must succeed it; and an event which puts a close to the concerns of time, carries the mind, by an inference which cannot be resisted, to the contemplation of eternity. But he, who has allowed his imagination to dwell on the secrets of that unexplored abyss, which commences when life ceases; and has weighed calmly and deliberately the value of things that are infinite and eternal; turns back to life with a conviction which cannot be uttered of the vanity and nothingness of temporal objects, when once compared with those which are to come hereafter. To him, the eagerness with which the world is pursuing the various prizes of gain, honour, pleasure, wealth, seems nothing less than madness; and all that is called good, and all that is called evil among men, will shrink into nothing, in comparison with the good and evil with which he has been conversant in meditating on the prospects of eternity.

To such a man, death appears in a very different character from that in which it is viewed by the savage, or by man, when his moral state resembles that of the savage. Death thenceforth may be braved, but it cannot be despised. At the call of duty it will be met without hesitation; but it will not be met with indifference or carelessness. The man who meets it will know what cause there is to fear it; though he may be able to rise above the sense of fear, and despise it. But the victory which he thus gains over fear, the principle by which he overcomes the terrors with which he has

become acquainted, must be the result of very different elements from those which he acted on before; and must be formed in a very different manner from that which constituted courage in a less enlightened state of mind.

Now, that there are means of doing this; that the gospel offers to man, what may be called the whole armour of God; that the power of meeting and overcoming him, who is called the King of Terrors, may be possessed, and has been, and is continually exercised by those who seem the weakest of our race, is happily a subject of such general notoriety, that it does not require a proof or explanation. But till this power is acquired; until these means of victory are possessed; the contingency, the inevitable contingency, in every case where life is risked, involves such awful consequences; that the mind may be justified in shrinking from the prospect of danger, where the loss of life must be followed by the destruction of the soul; and even the narrative of perils becomes too painful to be a source of pleasure to the reader. Courage under such circumstances may be an object of wonder, but it cannot be a legitimate object of admiration; and the reader must shudder while contemplating results, on which men rushed without thought or preparation; and dangers, which were boldly braved, merely because they were not understood.

The impression made is widely different, when self-possession and calmness in the midst of danger, are regarded as the effects of faith; and man is seen rising superior to the fear of death, because he feels that he is

raised above its power. This is Christian heroism; and compared with this, all other heroism sinks into feelings which cannot be reconciled with reason, or be recommended for imitation.

I admit that it may be thought the interest of States to encourage and foment a courage of another and a lower kind, even that animal courage which rushes upon danger without consideration, and shuts its eyes on the real nature of the evil that is braved. The pride of men may be gratified by the imagination of superiority above other men, which this indifference to danger gives them; or by the distinctions to which it leads; and the world may concur in admiring that which feeds or flatters the imagination. But reason, sooner or later, must be heard; and reason will gradually make itself heard, in a voice which cannot be resisted; and reason must refuse its sanction to a judgment which teaches men to throw away eternity for a temporal advantage; and encourages the exposure of the soul to consequences, the amount of which cannot be calculated.

And yet, let it not be supposed, that courage loses its real character, because the occasion for its display is mistaken by the world at large; or that the effect of religion is to make men cowards. So far from this being the case, courage, even courage of the highest kind, is not only indirectly inculcated, but is absolutely commanded in the gospel; commanded by Him whose word is truth, and who alone can enable his servants to do that, which He in His wisdom sees fit to command. The only difference is, that the courage which the

gospel teaches is reasonable in its exercise; a courage, which has reason on its side, and aims at nothing which cannot be justified; which only despises death, because it has seen that death need not be feared; and only defies suffering, from the conviction that it is to be borne as submission to the will of God.

Acting under these principles the Christian hears his blessed Master say, "Fear not them who can kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do;" and feels his heart respond to the exhortation. He reads the experience of the Psalmist, "Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death I will fear no evil, for Thou art with me;" and he rejoices to think, that he can anticipate the same support in corresponding circumstances. He hears the apostle say, "Add to your faith, courage;" and the faith by which he walks, and by which he overcomes the world, raises him above the power of the world's disturbances: and thus, in those things which are, and must be the causes of alarm and terror to men in general, he feels himself a conqueror, and more than a conqueror, through Him that loved him. With him then it is no struggle to rise superior to the fear of death, for it is habitual to him to despise it. The sting is taken out, its terrors are gone; and Christ, who commands him not to fear death, has delivered him from its power.

If the Christian, therefore, is not only encouraged against fear, but is actually commanded not to fear; if he is taught to regard courage as a duty; and to glorify the Master whom he serves, by the firmness with which he overcomes that, from which other men are

shrinking; we see that it is not without reason that he is daring; and that he is bold in the midst of danger, only because he is superior to it.

High as the standard is, which the gospel proposes; and much as it exceeds all the bearings of the mind in general, it is as reasonable as it is lofty. The grounds on which the duty is enforced are unquestionable and undeniable; and man cannot dare too much when he only dares according to this direction.

One great advantage therefore with biographies like the present, consists in the exhibition which they offer of courage, based on Christian principles, and regulated by Christian feeling; and there are special reasons why this connexion between courage and Christian principle should be traced and noticed. It is hardly possible to doubt, that the first effect of religious impressions on a mind previously untouched and unenlightened, will be to awaken such a sense of the importance of things spiritual and eternal, as will overpower all other feelings, and overwhelm the mind with the discoveries which have been made. The soul then, for the first time perhaps, becomes an object of anxiety to the man, who previously had never given it a serious thought. The vague inexplicable fear of death, of which he had been always conscious, grows then into a firm and settled conviction, that of all objects, death is the most tremendous; since it is obvious that its consequences may be the most awful. He feels that with such a subject it is madness to trifle, and folly to be indifferent. His former carelessness is regarded with wonder and astonishment; and the mind is lost and bewildered

in endeavouring to comprehend the truths which have thus suddenly burst upon it, and which seem too tremendous to be contemplated.

In fact, such is the character of those truths which religion includes, and which, on such an occasion, we suppose to be suddenly and powerfully revealed, that it would seem probable that the equilibrium of the mind should be disturbed by their discovery; and that every consideration should be lost sight of, in comparison with the one great question, "What shall I do to be saved." That such should be the effect seems natural, reasonable, and probable; and if it did not generally happen, that a fresh and livelier sense of duty is awakened at the same moment, when these impressions are produced; and that conscience becomes more active, as a sense of responsibility is formed; it might have seemed inevitable, that the first burst of religious feeling should weaken and unnerve the man, and lead him to fly from an exposure which he had learnt to fear, without consideration of the consequences that might follow. Whatever may be the causes which regulate the first impulse of these religious feelings, it is satisfactory to know from experience, that this excessive and violent action is seldom exhibited. The moral character is generally strengthened in proportion as the conscience is awakened; and the faith is strengthened, and the man gains firmness in the perception of every relative duty, in the same degree in which he is brought under the influence of religion. To this it must also be added, that the impressions which the gospel forms, are not those of fear alone, even when the conscience is most strongly

touched; and that terror, in a Christian's view, is never so entirely separated from hope, as to justify any desperate or violent departures from ordinary practice. "We have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear, but we have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry Abba Father:" and this, which forms the comfort of the advanced Christian, is not without its effect in mitigating the first agonies of conviction in the convert. Duties are recognized, while every thing else is forgotten; and men feel that whatever may be their anxiety about their souls, their salvation will not be forwarded by the neglect of that which they see and know they ought to do.

There is in truth a sort of general conviction in men, that if religion merely taught them what they had to fear, and did not combine with that the knowledge of what they have to hope; if it awakened us to a sense of our responsibility, without shewing how the claims of that responsibility had been met, it would have been a gift of very questionable value; for in that case it would have darkened all the present scene of trial, without shewing an horizon on which a better light was falling. It thus happens, that though the effect of first impressions may be to awaken fear; the effect which follows, when these impressions are retained and improved, is to relieve or remove fear; and every subsequent advance in knowledge, has a direct tendency to cast out fear, to substitute love as the principle of action, and to make hope the character of the mind, until hope rises to the very level of assurance.

Those therefore, who think that religion is likely to unnerve the man, and to unfit him for the hour of danger, by making him aware of the reason there is for fearing death; betray their ignorance of the subject; and shew how little they are acquainted with the principle they are traducing. All men know enough to make them afraid of death. Independent of any sufferings which the body may undergo, there is a shrinking from extinction, which belongs to our very nature; and is found acting with almost equal influence in every member of the human race; except in the few and rare cases where man has sunk himself to the level of the brute; and thus it is evident that man needs not the light which religion gives, in order to fly from that which human nature dreads. But this feeling, the fear of death, which religion does not create, she can regulate, control, and conquer; and while all men in their hearts feel the fear of death, and are obliged to close their eyes against their own convictions, or to harden their hearts by habitual submission to other principles, while pretending to despise it; the Christian alone is capable of looking forward to death with calmness, and of exercising a deliberate and rational contempt of it.

So long then as the present state of things exists; so long as the blessings of peace are to be preserved by war; and the security and the comforts of the many are to be purchased by the exposure of the few; there must be professions where the call of duty may imply the risk of life, and where courage must be the character of the men who belong to them. Courage will then become a duty; and men must be found by

whom death shall be braved without hesitation, whenever the interests of the service require it.

But a Christian community, while it admits this painful necessity, and tracing the origin of wars and fightings to the lusts which war in our members, sees in them the marks of the universal corruption of our nature; and looks on war as the disgrace rather than the glory of man; must still feel anxious, that the courage which it cherishes and honours as the means of national security, should be the courage formed on those bright and lofty principles, which shall discharge its duty to the public most effectually, without any unjustifiable risk to the individual. There is an obvious necessity that the public peace should be protected; but there still may be a question, whether this protection may not be too dearly purchased; if a limited measure of temporal advantages were to occasion the loss of an eternity of happiness to those by whom it is preserved.

It is surely no idle refinement, no morbid spirit of argument, which compares an infinite loss occurring to an individual, with a definite and limited loss occasioned to the community of which he forms a part. Men have not hesitated to say, that the security of property would be purchased at a price too dear, if it was to be maintained by capital punishment; and if political wisdom condescends to note the value of an individual life, can it, with any consistency, deny the value of an individual soul?

A Christian community is, therefore, not only justified in taking every measure, which may raise the moral character of those employed in its defence, and

may make them bold and courageous upon principle; but it is also bound to use every means which may render those whom it exposes, as superior to the power of death, as they are, or endeavour to be, to its terrors.

It is easy to state the almost insuperable difficulties which here at once present themselves. The habits of life, which have rendered the military and naval professions proverbial, and which seem inseparable from their position in society; the withdrawal from domestic ties, and from all the usual restraints of the tendencies of men; these may be named at once, as rendering the attempt at such a moral improvement chimerical; and these will long continue to render its accomplishment difficult. In the meantime the world at large, either indifferent to the consequences, or despairing of a cure, have found it a much cheaper, and a much more compendious way, to teach their defenders to forget death, than to endeavour to prepare them to despise it; and lamentable as it is to say, grave men, and men who were thought wise men, have argued as if it was necessary that men should be immoral in order that they might be brave; and have tried to shew that it was expedient that thousands should be eternally miserable, in order that some temporary advantage might be achieved by their exertions.

But the difficulty of a work does not imply that it is impracticable. Something may be done, if all cannot be accomplished: and wherever any great and undeniable evil exists in society, it is so obviously the will of God, that it should be abated or removed; that man ought to think of nothing, but the means of attempting

that, which he may leave to the power of God to perform.

It is therefore manifestly expedient that men engaged in those professions, where life is of necessity most exposed, should be prepared to meet death with firmness. The world has its nostrums for effecting this object, and these it is always ready to supply. It has a sense of honour for the high-minded and noble. It has levity and carelessness for the unthinking. It has brutish indifference for the multitude. With one or other of these, it drugs the men, who are to be the protectors of their country's welfare; and sends them forth to danger, like those who are blinded and intoxicated. We admit the efficacy of the means, but we are compelled to feel that the remedy is worse than the disease: and we dare not purchase courage for our soldiers and sailors, at a price which compromises all the highest hopes of man.

Without dwelling at present on other resources for accomplishing this important end; on resources, which might be made to act directly on the habits of these professions; it seems that example might in some respect be more beneficial than precept; and that the narrative of one, who exhibited, in his public life and conduct the model of what a British officer should be, while he was, at the same time, in the full sense of the word, a Christian; of one, who might have been described through life as "*sans peur et sans reproche;*" and who became the ornament of his service, while living in close communion with his God; might be useful to others, as shewing that religious principles and

professional excellence are not incompatible; and might encourage the young to pursue a course which should make them all that their profession implies, and all that their country can require, without forfeiting that inward peace, and that future hope, which belong to the true Christian, and make up the sum of his privileges, as well as the substance of his character.

To those who knew Sir Jahleel Brenton, or who can now recall the singular combination of qualities which formed his character; qualities which impressed respect while they conciliated the affection of every one around him; it is unnecessary to dwell upon features not likely to be forgotten. But it still may be useful to remind others, and especially those who may be tempted, in running over the following pages, to smile at the tone in which this great and good man speaks, when occupied with questions of a religious nature; that there have been few men, whom an Englishman would have been more desirous, on any occasion of importance, to put forward, as the representative of his country, than the subject of this memoir. The description which the great historian of Rome applied to the man whose merits he has immortalized by his biography, might have been with equal justice applied to him, "*Bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter.*" Goodness seemed to belong to him; and it sate so easily on him, that it coloured every word, and look, and gesture. No one ever met him, without feeling convinced that the qualities which conciliated and pleased, were in his case not the incidental expression of a courtesy assumed to serve a particular purpose; but that they were qualities on which

dependence might be placed, as exhibiting the real feelings of the man; dignified, and yet kind; indulgent to others, and yet firm in principle; as playful in the hour of repose, as decided and energetic in the time of peril. Carrying with him, in the stores of a well disciplined mind, and a refined taste, ample resources for profitable conversation, he was fitted to take his place in any form of society, and would have done justice to any situation to which his country could have called him; while his country might also have felt, that the man selected to represent her character, and to maintain her claims, would have also been what few could be; would have been the Christian representative of a Christian people; and would have shewn the lustre which consistent religion spreads over that which is admirable in man, by the effect produced on his own life and conversation.

To prolong the memory of such a man seems nothing less than a duty. To extend the knowledge of his excellence; and before that knowledge is effaced by the competition of other claimants for distinction, to shew the secret springs of the excellence which is admired; to trace to its real source, all that in him was distinctive and peculiar; to shew that it was to the grace of God, and to that alone, he owed the combination of qualities so rarely met with as united, and so much heightened in value by combination; to encourage imitation by example; and to hold up to the future defenders of our country, one, whom they may be proud to follow in the course of service, and whom it will be their happiness to imitate in private life; this

seems a debt, which every one who feels the blessings of security he owes to their exertions, and who glories in his country's honour, should endeavour to discharge.

Conscious of my own inadequacy for the office, which I am describing, I am still sustained by the hope that the reader will afterwards learn what the writer cannot teach; that inferences will be drawn, and conclusions formed from the narrative, which shall realize the purpose with which it has been undertaken; and that the familiar acquaintance that may be gained by admission to the private thoughts and feelings of so good and great a man as Sir Jahleel Brenton, may lead many a mind to adopt the sentiments which are here recorded, and that many a high-spirited and gallant youth may be induced by his example to follow the steps of one who never forgot his God, while engaged in his country's service; and was as faithful to his Saviour as he was obedient to the call of duty.

CHAPTER I.

SETTLEMENT OF THE BRENTON FAMILY IN AMERICA, — AND DESCENT. — BIRTH OF THE SUBJECT OF THE MEMOIR. — BREAKING OUT OF THE WAR AND REMOVAL TO ENGLAND. — EDUCATION AND INTRODUCTION TO NAVAL SERVICE, IN THE DIDO. — PASSES FOR LIEUTENANT, AND ACCEPTS AN INVITATION TO SERVE IN THE SWEDISH FLEET. — ADVENTURES ON WAY TO JOIN, AND CONCLUSION OF SERVICE. — APPOINTED AS LIEUTENANT TO THE ASSURANCE. — TRANSFERRED TO THE SPEEDY, AND SENT ON COMMAND OF THE TREPASSEY TO NEWFOUNDLAND. — RETURN TO ENGLAND AND APPOINTED TO THE SYBIL. — VOYAGE HOMEWARDS IN THE CLEOPATRA, AND IN A SPANISH MAN OF WAR FROM CADIZ.

SIR JAHLEEL BRENTON was the eldest son of Rear Admiral Brenton, a native of Rhode Island. The family appear to have emigrated to America in the early part of the reign of Charles the First, probably from apprehension of the coming troubles of the times. William Brenton, who settled as a merchant at Boston, in Massachusets, about the year 1634, came from Hammersmith, in England. He must have been a person of some wealth and consideration, as he became a freeman, and a select man of the Colony, the same year; and in the following year, 1635, was chosen a deputy of the general court. He afterwards removed to Rhode Island, and then returned to England, from whence he finally removed from Hammersmith, with his whole family, consisting of three sons, Jahleel, William, and John, and settled at Newport, in Rhode

Island. In 1663 he became Deputy Governor of the Colony of Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations in New England, under the charter granted to that Colony by Charles the Second, in the fourteenth year of his reign. In 1667-8 he became Governor of the Colony, and died in the year 1674.

Jahleel, his eldest son, resided in Newport, Rhode Island. A great part of his father's property was bequeathed to him; and in the year 1691 he was appointed by commission, in the second year of William and Mary, Collector, Surveyor, and Searcher of the Customs within the Colonies of New England.

William, the second son, great grandfather to the subject of the present memoir, took up his residence either at Taunton in Massachusets, or at Bristol in Rhode Island, though some doubts exist as to which of these places became his home. He married Martha Church, by whom he had three sons, Jahleel (grandfather to the Baronet), Ebenezer, and Benjamin.

Of John Brenton, the third son of William, nothing farther is known except that he went to a settlement called Bellevoir, in New England; and was not afterwards heard of.

Jahleel, the collector, died at Newport unmarried, about the year 1732, and bequeathed the greater part of his large estates in New England to his nephew Jahleel, who had married in the year 1714-15, Frances, daughter of Samuel Cranstoun, who was Governor of the Colony, and who died in 1727, aged 68 years. He was the son of John Cranstoun, the former Governor of the Colony, who was lineally descended from the Scottish

Baron, James Lord Cranstoun, as appears by the inscription on his tombstone in the churchyard at Newport, in Rhode Island.

Of the brothers of this Jahleel, Ebenezer and Benjamin, nothing has been recorded, though Jahleel, the Collector above-mentioned, made several bequests to them. Where they resided, or whether they left any descendants does not appear. Jahleel, the grandfather of the Baronet, had by his first wife, Frances Cranstoun, fifteen children—eight sons and seven daughters. Jahleel, his fourth son, the father of our present subject, was born October 22nd, (O.S.) 1729, died 29th January, 1802. He married in December 29th, 1765, Henrietta Cowley, daughter and coheiress of Joseph Cowley, Esq. formerly of Worcestershire, in England, and Penelope his wife, who was the daughter of —— Pelham of Laughton, Esq.; whose ancestors had removed to Rhode Island during the civil wars in the reign of Charles the First.

Jahleel, the subject of this memoir, and the eldest son of Jahleel and Henrietta, was born the 22nd of August, 1770. There were besides four sons and five daughters; of the latter, all are still living; of the former two died in their infancy; the other two, with their eldest brother, followed the profession of their father, who had very early in life entered the British Navy. Edward Pelham was born the 29th of July, 1774. Of his active and useful life a sketch has already been given to the public, from the pen of his affectionate surviving brother. James Wallis lived to be a Lieutenant in the British Navy, and was killed in

action when First Lieutenant of H. M. S. Peterel, in the command of a boat expedition in chase of an enemy's vessel near Barcelona.

The seven elder children, were born in America, on the patrimonial property at Rhode Island; but the circumstance that the father of Sir Jahleel belonged to the service of Great Britain obliged him to relinquish his home, and the place of his nativity, at the time of the civil war, which ended in the separation of the colonies from the mother country. Urgent entreaties were used on the part of the Americans to induce Mr. Brenton to join their cause. He was even offered the highest naval rank which the Republic could bestow; though he was at that time only a Lieutenant in His Majesty's service; but that inflexible loyalty, which was always a strong feature in his character, rendered him alike insensible to bribery and persecution. That he might take an active part in the cause of his king, he was obliged to escape clandestinely from Rhode Island, where he left his wife and infant family, exposed to considerable hardships and difficulties; from which they were however soon happily relieved by the efforts of the British cruisers stationed on the coast.

The whole family were removed to England in the year 1780, when the young Jahleel was placed in a school at Enfield, in Middlesex. In the year 1781 he embarked as a Midshipman in the Queen, armed ship, commanded by his father, who had been promoted to the rank of Commander; and whom he shortly after followed into the Termagant, then a post ship; from which it may be reasonably inferred that the additional

rank of Post Captain had been bestowed upon this loyal subject as soon as possible.

At the conclusion of the war in 1783, the young sailor had time to resume his studies on shore, and for that purpose was sent to the maritime school at Chelsea, where, for the space of two years, he successfully pursued those branches of learning more particularly suited to the profession he had chosen. He always retained a grateful recollection of the advantages he had derived from this establishment, where the best education was afforded on the most reasonable terms to the sons of naval officers, who, from their limited income, might have found it impossible to procure the same advantages for their children in any other academy.

In the year 1785 he was removed to France, where his family then resided, as the acquisition of the French language was thought an important point. He has left a remark upon record which will exhibit the state of his mind at this time. "To shew," he says, "what an important influence the most trifling circumstances may have upon a man's life, I may mention that, whilst living at St. Omers, in 1786, I was considered to be in very feeble health from the return of an ague, first experienced in the preceding year at St. Vincents; and having at the drawing school evinced a strong inclination for painting, my parents thought of sending me to Italy, with a view of making that my profession, a plan which I eagerly caught at for the moment; but thinking it over in my own room, where my sword was suspended over the chimney, my eye no sooner rested upon it, than old associations and

prospects instantly crowded in upon me, and induced me at once to reject the tempting offer of a journey to Rome, and renewed my determination to goto se a."

In 1787 his father returned with his family to England; and the Dutch armament having taken place, Jahleel set off for Portsmouth to join the Perseverance, commanded by Captain, afterwards Admiral, Sir William Young, a valued friend of his father. This ship was however paid off soon after his arrival, in consequence of the restoration of tranquillity; and Jahleel embarked on board the Dido, Captain Sandys, who constantly employed him in sounding and surveying different bays and harbours on the coast of Nova Scotia. It was at this early age that his affections were bestowed upon one, who was well worthy of them; and of the rise and growth of this attachment, as romantic in its commencement as happy in its results, he has left some touching and affecting records in three manuscript volumes addressed to his children. A few extracts from these, to exhibit the character of the writer, without encroaching on the sacredness belonging to a domestic memorial of such a kind, will be introduced in the present notice.

In the year 1789, the time then allotted for the service of a midshipman having nearly expired, he returned to England, and joined the Bellona, commanded by Captain, afterwards Sir Francis Hartwell. In the month of March, 1790, he passed his examination for a Lieutenant; and foreseeing no chance, either of promotion or active employment during the profound peace, then subsisting between Great Britain

and her neighbours, he, with a view of gaining experience in his profession, accepted a Lieutenant's commission in the Swedish navy, then engaged in active operations against the Russians in the gulf of Finland. Of his later and better thoughts on this subject he has left a valuable record in the manuscript before alluded to. He there says, speaking of the period in question, "In after life, when better acquainted with my religious duties, I have felt and acknowledged the guilt of this step, for such it was; but I was led away by the idea of acquiring distinction and eminence, so natural in youthful minds, and so powerfully excited by the biography of those whom the world holds up to admiration for their conduct in arms, without any reference to the cause which alone can render war justifiable."

Leaving England for this purpose, he did not reach Carlscrona until the fleet had sailed; and before he could join them in the gulf of Finland, it was already blocked up in the bay of Wyborg, by the Russians. The vessel on board of which he was embarked was lying in the port of Lowisa, when the action took place off its mouth on the 3rd of July, which nearly annihilated the Swedish fleet, by depriving them of seven sail of the line out of twenty-one, while the remainder with difficulty reached Helsingfors. Hither Mr. Brenton proceeded, and undismayed by this mortifying defeat of the power which he came to serve, presented his commission to the Duke of Sudermania, then commander in chief; and was immediately appointed Lieutenant of the Konig Adolf Frederic, bearing the flag of

Vice Admiral Modée. He, at the same time, received orders to introduce the British system of discipline among the men, for which purpose he was fully supported by the Vice Admiral and Captain.

Of this period the following record has been left in his own hand, "On arriving at Gottenburg, I found a carriage there waiting for Sir Sidney Smith, who had also volunteered his services in the same cause, and was expected from England. It had been sent there by the Duke of Sudermania; and as Sir Sidney was known to have taken another route, General Toll, the governor of Gottenburg, offered it to me; and he, at the same time, requested me to superintend a convoy of British sailors, provided it would not delay me too much. The number of these men amounted to twenty or thirty; each had a horse and cart for the conveyance of himself, and chest, and hammock; and in each of these was a Swedish driver, in many instances this was a female.

"This cavalcade had, previously to starting, been drawn up in a line in the market-place; and this line the sailors had arranged in three divisions, naming an admiral in each, and hoisting a handkerchief for a flag. The procession was very orderly while passing through the streets; but we had no sooner got upon the broad road than there were evident attempts made to try the respective *rates of sailing;* and at length the signal was made for a general chase. The Swedes, and particularly the women, soon lost all controul; the most prudent jumped off; and in the course of a short time many of the carts were upset, some in the ditches

on each side of the road, and there were but few to which some disaster had not happened.

"But little progress was made in the course of this day; and fearing I might not reach Carlscrona before the fleet should sail, I left my countrymen to the Swedish officers, and proceeded without stopping day and night. I was however too late. The fleet had sailed, and I was obliged to wait for the Hecte, a Swedish frigate then preparing for sea; and at length, with the English sailors who arrived in the course of a week, I embarked in her, and proceeded to Helsingfors. Here I was put on board the Hussar, a *two decked brig* carrying twenty twelve-pounders on the lower deck, and fourteen four-pounders on the upper; or as Johnny facetiously said, 'My eye, here is a craft; a two-decked brig, the quarter deck got forward, and the captain's cabin under the forecastle.' The fact was, that the upper deck came no further aft than the mainmast, and was rather a prolonged forecastle; the captain's cabin was under the deck, and next to the galley or cook's room."

On the 9th of July the battle of Swinkasund took place between the Swedish and Russian Galley fleets, when the skill and gallantry of the British officers serving in the latter made the fortune of the day for a long time doubtful. That of Sir Sidney Smith and his followers however, on the side of the Swedes, was more successful, by whose exertions a brilliant victory was gained. This circumstance convinced his Majesty Gustavus the Third, that none were so fit to oppose Englishmen as Englishmen; and he accordingly directed

that all the British officers should be immediately sent from the grand to the galley fleet. They arrived there a few days after the action, and were distributed amongst the flat bottomed frigates. Mr. Brenton was appointed to the Sturkollen. The following is the record he has left of some circumstances belonging to this period.

"On reaching Swinkasund, the English officers were presented to the king of Sweden, Gustavus the third, on board his yacht, the Amphisis, where his Majesty's flag was flying. Their reception was most cordial. I was the only officer who spoke French, and therefore became the organ of communication. The bay at this time was covered with the wreck of the late battle. The wrecks of two fine frigates were lying on the beach, besides those of other vessels. Three frigates, a fifty gun praam, and innumerable gallies and gun boats had been sunk. The masts of the larger vessels were out of the water; and many of those of the smaller ones, according to the depth of water where they had sunk. All were abandoned as irretrievably lost; whereas, had the victors been English instead of Swedish, it is not too much to say that nearly all, if not the whole, of these vessels would have been weighed. One frigate in particular had received but little damage. She was on shore, and lying with her starboard gunwale in the water; her masts had been cut away by the Swedes, who never thought of attempting to get her off. The Englishmen regretting to see so beautiful a vessel consigned to destruction, waited upon the king, and volunteered to save her, at which he was greatly pleased, and ordered

every assistance and material they required to be given to them. They accordingly set to work with all the ardour and confidence of their profession; cleared the vessel of whatever could be got at, and laid out anchors and purchases in such a manner as to give every hope of success; expecting, on the following day, to have their triumph. In the course of the night however, the gear they had prepared was cut away, and carried off by boats sent from the Swedish ships; the officers alleging that they were ordered to collect whatever blocks or ropes could be found amongst the wrecked vessels; but there was reason to ascribe this conduct to the jealousy of the Swedish officers; a jealousy easier to be accounted for than excused. It must at the same time be allowed that the king was imprudent in the partiality he evinced towards foreign followers; and as those in question were all young and thoughtless, and arrogant, neither concealing their fancied superiority over the Swedes, nor using any endeavours to conciliate them, it is only providential that more serious events did not occur. All hopes of getting off the frigate were now abandoned, and the Englishmen were sent to their respective ships."

From this time there was no active service, peace being proclaimed in a few weeks. His Swedish Majesty invited the British officers to continue in his service; but as there was every probability of Great Britain being involved in a war with Spain at that period, Mr. Brenton preferred returning to England. Of this time he has also left a record. He says, "In the month of August the peace was proclaimed at

Kymena. The king assembled the British officers on board his yacht, and addressed them in the most flattering manner; telling them that he was well assured how greatly they would have distinguished themselves had an opportunity offered; and that if they would remain in his service he would insure their advancement. Four out of the eight accepted his offer; but three besides myself declared our intentions of returning to England, and expressed our anxiety to have means provided for our return as soon as possible; as we had every reason to believe that our country was upon the eve of a war. The Spanish armament having taken place, the king recommended us to the care of the Commander of the Galley fleet, with directions that we should be immediately paid, and have a conveyance to such place as might enable us to procure a passage to England.

"His Majesty had no sooner gone than the British officers were embarked in a galley, with orders to proceed to Helsingfors, the great naval seaport in the gulf of Finland, where we were told we should receive our pay. On entering the bay, the galley hauled into the rocks; and having landed the Englishmen upon them, proceeded in execution of other orders, leaving us to get to Helsingfors as we best could.

"On reaching the town, we were told by the authorities that no order had been received for our payment, but that we must proceed to Stockholm, a journey of many miles, besides having to cross the gulf of Bothnia. One of our party having a sum of money in hand, generously assisted us; we must otherwise have been greatly

delayed, We set out from Helsingfors through Finland, in the common cart of the country, which consists merely of a pair of wheels, and two small spars lashed to the axletree, forming the shafts, and at the same time the only body of the carriage; upon these the chest and cot of the travellers were secured, making a very comfortable seat. We took our provisions for the journey, which consisted of hard bread, a ham, and a bottle of spirits. We could depend upon no supply on the road except a few eggs.

"In this manner we began our journey through Finland, not knowing a word of the language: we at length reached Abo, and procured an open boat to cross the gulf of Bothnia. The weather had become very tempestuous, and we were obliged to take shelter for a day or two on a small island in the gulf.

"At length we reached Gustihamnan, and from thence proceeded to Stockholm. Here we were obliged to wait for some days; the Swedish ambassador in England, it was said, had sent no account of the terms on which the British officers had been engaged. It was at length determined to give them a sum on account, leaving the ambassador in England to make a final settlement. The sum was twenty pounds to each; but one half of this was given in a bill on Copenhagen, done evidently with a view of getting the Englishmen out of the country as soon as possible, lest they might appeal to the king. We accordingly sailed for Copenhagen in an English merchant ship, landed at Elsineur, and had to proceed from thence to Copenhagen, where we remained a week, and left it at that time with but little

more of the twenty pounds than would enable us to pay our passage to England, where we arrived about the middle of November.

"By this time the Ambassador was changed, and his successor pleaded ignorance of our concerns; nor was it till the year 1796 that any settlement was made. This only amounted to twelve pounds, making in all thirty-two pounds to each officer, instead of more than seventy-two pounds which had been promised."

On the 22nd of this month, Mr. Brenton was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant in the British Navy, through the interest of Lord Hood. Of this period he speaks thus:—"My first appointment of Lieutenant was second of the 'Assurance,' a troop ship, ordered to take troops to Halifax, a station of all others I should have chosen, having numerous friends and relations at that place; but particularly, from having formed an early attachment there. I was, however, destined not to perform this voyage, nor to see the object of my affections for the next ten years. I had been sent on shore at Rochester, in the pursuit of some deserters from my ship, when I was surrounded by a mob, and arrested by the civil power, on a charge of impressing within the limits of the city of Rochester. The Mayor, upon this vague charge, and without taking any evidence in support of it, committed me and four midshipmen to Bridewell. It was pointed out to the Mayor that an infuriated mob was waiting at the door, with the intention of attacking the officers on their way to prison; regardless of the warning, he sent us under a few constables. I was immediately

knocked down, dragged through the streets, and narrowly escaped with life, losing nearly all my clothes. We were liberated the next morning, and a representation having been made at the Admiralty, their Solicitor was ordered to enter a prosecution against the Mayor of Rochester; and I was superseded from the Assurance, and appointed second of the Speedy Sloop of fourteen guns, on the home station, that I might be at hand to attend the trial. This did not take place till many months afterwards, when it came on at Maidstone. The Mayor suffered judgment to go against him by default, and in consequence paid the penalty of seven hundred and fifty pounds, which sum no doubt was supplied by the corporation. I continued for some time second of the Speedy, and was at length made first Lieutenant. I was generally kept in the command of the boats cruizing after smugglers. The Speedy was paid off in the autumn of 1791."

Having remained from this period till the summer of 1792 upon half-pay, Mr. Brenton was then appointed to command the Trepassey, a small cutter at Newfoundland. The only personal recollections which have been found of Newfoundland, are contained in the following anecdote.—" In an excursion made in the winter of 1792-3, from St. John's to the Bay of Bulls, Captain, the late General, Skinner forming one of our party, we had, on our return, to cross a large lake over the ice, some miles in extent. When about the middle, Captain Skinner informed me that he had long been severely pinched by the cold, and found an irresistible drowsy fit coming on. I urged

him to exertion, representing the fatal consequences of giving way to this feeling, and pointing out the state in which his wife and family would be found, should the party arrive at St. John's without him. These thoughts roused him to exertion for some time; but when we had reached the margin of the lake, he gave way, and declared he was utterly unable to struggle farther, delivering at the same time what he considered his dying message to his family. As there were some bushes near the spot, I broke off a branch, and began to thrash my fellow-traveller with it; at first without much apparent effect, but at length I was delighted to find that my patient winced under my blows, and at length grew angry. I continued the application of the stick, until he made an effort to get up and retaliate. He was soon relieved from the torpor; and as we were now but a few miles from St. John's, I pushed on before the party, leaving the captain under their especial care. I left also the stick, with strong injunctions that it should be smartly applied in the event of the drowsiness returning. I soon reached the town, and having had some warm porter with spice prepared against the arrival of my friends; with this and considerable friction he was enabled to proceed home, where he arrived perfectly recovered. He himself related the story at the Earl of St. Vincent's table at Gibraltar, many years afterwards; expressing, at the same time, much gratitude for the beating he had received."

In the early part of 1794 Mr. Brenton returned to England, and was appointed second of the Sybil, of twenty-eight guns, in which situation he remained for a few

months and then became first lieutenant of that ship; but with regard to the intermediate steps, by which he rose to this command, his own pen must supply the narrative. He says, "I was appointed, in the summer of 1792, to the command of the Trepassey cutter, at Newfoundland, a very small vessel, and facetiously termed by naval men, a machine for making officers. There were two cutters built, it might be said for this very purpose, on an understanding that a lieutenant should be made into each, every year; one from Admiralty patronage, and the other by the commander in chief for the time being. The first two were Lieutenants Rowley and Halket; the next pair Caithen and Gilbert; then Herbert and Holme. I name these officers that the regularity of the system may appear. The lieutenant at the end of the year, or just previously to the sailing of the Admiral for England, (for he never wintered on the station) went through a nominal invaliding; and their successors were appointed from the cockpit of the Admiral's ship.

"At length, in the year 1792, the Admiralty decided upon putting an end to this certainly most exceptionable method of patronage, and ordered two lieutenants out from England to command these cutters. I was one of these, and arrived at Newfoundland in September. I found the Trepassey a very extraordinary description of a man of war. She was only forty-two tons; something about the size of one of the Gravesend boats, previously to the adoption of steam vessels upon the Thames. Her crew consisted of *five* men, and a pilot, who performed the functions of every class of

officer below the commander. She had four swivels mounted; and was employed in going along the coast to protect the fisheries, and to enquire into abuses. On the last appointment the Admiral added two midshipmen to each cutter, making the whole number of each complement eight. These vessels lay in the harbour of St. John's during the winter, and were fitted out in the spring, to be in readiness to visit the different ports on their station, as soon as the harbour was clear from ice.

"In the month of March, 1793, a small vessel arrived under a flag of truce from the island of St. Pierre, with a letter from the Governor, requesting to know what news had arrived from Europe. It was addressed to the Admiral, and contained evidently an indirect offer of surrender of the islands to his Britannic Majesty, made with a view of putting them under our protection, and of saving them from the sanguinary republicans, who had begun to shew themselves amongst the population. The Admiral was of course in England; and the question was, who should open the letter. There was a military force of one company of the fourth regiment, and another of artillery; and the naval force consisted of the two cutters, Placentia and Trepassey, commanded by Lieutenant Tucker and myself. The dispatches of course were received by Mr. Tucker, who forthwith called upon the captains of the army to consult as to what steps should be taken.

"At this meeting the question arose as to who was the representative of the Governor. The commission of the Governor stated, that in case of his *death*, the government was to devolve upon the senior officer of

the navy; and it was maintained that the provision made against death, must be equally applicable to his absence. This was denied on the part of the military officers; and until this point was settled no consultation could take place. Mr. Tucker acted for himself, and proceeded to collect a body of volunteers on the island, with which he contemplated sailing for St. Pierre, as soon as a sufficient number could be got together. In the meantime he sent me in the Trepassey, with a flag of truce, to give the information to the Governor of St. Pierre, and to prepare him for the event, that he might be in readiness to act in concert.

"On my arrival I found that the island had been taken possession of the day before, by a detachment from Halifax; and the Alligator frigate, which had brought them, was then lying in the harbour. The Trepassey was immediately dispatched to take possession of Miguelon. On the return of the Trepassey to St. John's I found the Pluto, sloop of war, had arrived, having captured a French corvette from Martinique. News also from Europe had reached us, with an account of the murder of the French king, and the commencement of the war. The action of the Boston and the Ambuscade soon after took place. The Admiral (Sir Richard King) reached his station in July; and having received a letter which informed me, that it was the wish of my friend, Captain E. Pakenham, to have me as his first lieutenant in the Resistance, of forty-four guns, I procured the Admiral's permission to go to England, taking my passage in the Cleopatra, with that most amiable and distinguished character, Sir Alexander

Ball; a circumstance invaluable to me from its being the means of my acquiring the friendship of such a man.

"We took a convoy to Cadiz, and while waiting there to collect one for England, it was understood that a Spanish seventy-four was upon the point of sailing for Falmouth with money; as an indemnification of the Nootka Sound affair, in 1790. I eagerly caught at the opportunity of seeing the system of the Spanish navy; and my wish being made known to the Spanish commander, he immediately invited me to take my passage to England with him, in the St. Elmo, where I was treated with the greatest hospitality, and marked attention. We sailed for Ferrol on the following day, and from that port the 24th December, and arrived at Falmouth early in January.

"This ship had been selected as one in the best state of discipline in the Spanish navy, to be sent to England. She was commanded by Don Lorenzo Goycochca, a gallant seaman, who had commanded one of the junk ships destroyed before Gibraltar, in 1781. I had during this voyage an opportunity of appreciating Spanish management at sea. When the ship was brought under double reefed topsails, it was considered superfluous to lay the cloth for dinner; and when I remonstrated, I was told by the captain, that not one officer would be able to sit at table, being all sea-sick; but that he had directed dinner to be got in his own cabin for himself and me. It was the custom in the Spanish navy for the captain and all the officers to mess together in the wardroom, which was appropriated to

this purpose. We had henceforth a very comfortable meal together, whenever the weather prevented a general meeting.

"As the safe arrival of this ship was deemed of great importance, an English pilot from Falmouth was sent into Ferrol, for the purpose of enabling her to approach the coast of England with safety. A few nights before our arrival at Falmouth, the ship having whole sails and topping sails, was taken aback in a heavy squall from the N. E. and I was awoke by the English pilot knocking at my cabin door, calling out, 'Mr. Brenton, Mr. Brenton, rouse out, Sir; here is the ship running away with these Spaniards.' When I got upon deck, I found this was literally the case. She was running away at the rate of twelve knots, and every thing in confusion: she was indeed, to use the ludicrous simile of a naval captain, 'all adrift like a French post-chaise.' It required some hours to get things to rights, and the wind having moderated and become fair, we then resumed our course, and safely reached Falmouth. The Spanish Inns, (the Posadas) are proverbially bad, wretched in the extreme; and great was the astonishment of the officers of the St. Elmo on reaching Williams's Hotel at Falmouth, by no means at that time a first rate inn. Still, such was the effect produced by the carpet, the fire, and the furniture in general, that it was some time before they could be persuaded that I had not conducted them to some nobleman's house, in return for their hospitality to me; the *bill* however dispelled this pleasant delusion."

CHAPTER II.

SERVICE IN THE SYBIL. — STORY OF THE CORFIELDS. — SEVERE WINTER AT SEA. — STORY OF JOHN ICEBERG. — INVALIDED AND COMES ASHORE. — APPLIES FOR EMPLOYMENT, AND APPOINTED TO THE ALLIANCE. — FEELINGS ON THE SUBJECT. — GOES OUT TO THE MEDITERRANEAN. — MADE KNOWN TO SIR JOHN JERVIS, AND APPOINTED TO THE GIBRALTAR. — STORM AND EXTREME DANGER OF THE SHIP. — MADE FIRST LIEUTENANT OF THE AIGLE. — BUT THE AIGLE BEING LOST, HE REMAINS FIRST LIEUTENANT OF THE BARFLEUR. — INTERVIEW WITH LORD ST. VINCENT AND THE SUBSEQUENT DECISION.

Soon after his arrival in England, Mr. Brenton was appointed Second Lieutenant to the Sybil; and while the ship was lying at Gravesend, and previous to her quitting the river, an interesting little event occurred, which is so descriptive of the warm-hearted and affectionate character of the Irish, that it seems due to our countrymen of the sister isle to mention it, as related in the journal.

"A boat full of men was seen proceeding to an East Indiaman, and I, who was at the time walking the deck with the captain, was ordered to take a boat and examine them. I found them sheltered under a regular protection signed by the Lords of the Admiralty, and stated to be in force for three days from its date. The date had been omitted, perhaps purposely; and the paper had probably been procured by a crimp, in order to cover the men he was in the

habit of sending down to the ships at Gravesend. The boat therefore was brought alongside the Sybil; and the captain, not finding any prime seamen amongst them, was satisfied with taking two healthy looking Irish lads, Mike and Pat Corfield by name, one about twenty years old, and the other under nineteen. The lads were greatly distressed at being put on board a man of war, of which they had undoubtedly heard many terrible things. It was however past twelve o'clock when they arrived, and the pipe had been just given for dinner. The young Irishmen were accordingly supplied with their portion of bread, soup, and meat; when Pat smiling through his tears said, "Mike, let us send for mother."

This little speech, so original, and so full of affectionate expression, was related to the amusement of the officers for the moment, and was soon forgotten; but many weeks afterwards, when the ship was at Spithead; a boat came off, in which were not only the mother but also the little brother of the Corfields. Their meeting was, as may be supposed, affecting in the extreme, and seemed to interest every one in their favour. The whole family were of course to live, while they remained together, upon the allowance of the two sailors; but the officers having interceded with the captain; little Edmund, the younger brother, about ten years of age, was put on the books, which gave a third allowance; in the mean time the two elder had procured and slung a hammock for the mother, and another for the little fellow, and every accommodation was given them by their shipmates to whom this con-

duct had endeared them. The mother by washing more than furnished her quota for the mess; and the whole were kept by her care so clean and tidy that they were noticed for their good appearance."

In the course of the autumn of this year, 1794, the Sybil formed part of the squadron under Rear Admiral Harvey, and was lying many weeks in the Scheldt, for the protection of Flushing; the French being in possession of the isle of Cadsand, and menacing that fortress. This service was at once harassing and mortifying; having none of the excitement or prospect of advantage which a cruize invariably holds out; while it was in no ordinary degree exposed to anxiety and hardship.

The Sybil was at length ordered to cruize on the Flemish bank, between the coast of Holland and the Goodwin Sands; and was kept on this duty during the whole of that very severe winter of 1794-5, occasionally calling at Sheerness, to refit and complete provisions. Mr. Brenton was appointed First Lieutenant of the ship in the October of this year. In the month of January, 1795, the ice extended far beyond the great Haze, and the Sybil was for many days frozen in at the little Haze, without any communication either with the shore or other ships. The squadron, under Commodore Payne, consisting of the Jupiter, Royal Yacht, and other ships, were lying at Sheerness at this time, waiting for the ice to break up, that they might proceed to the Elbe, in order to bring over the Princess Caroline, afterwards Princess of Wales, and of so much notoriety in this country. Of this period of service the following notices are given :—

"In February the Sybil was sent to the Weser, to assist in bringing away the British army, after their disastrous retreat through Holland in that awful winter. The sufferings of the troops had been dreadful during the march. They were embarked as they reached Bremer Lee, and sailed in detachments for England. The Sybil and her convoy were to take off the rear, and remained in consequence until the latter end of March. Colonels Barnes and Boardman, the first of the Guards, and the latter of the Oxford Blues, were embarked in the Sybil. About this time an extraordinary species of disease had begun to manifest itself among the marines of the Sybil; and as the discovery of its cause, and the means of its cure, must be ascribed to the acuteness of the latter of these two gentlemen, it may be regarded as a subject of thankfulness that they were passengers. Many of the men were afflicted with an ossification, or hardening of the knee joint; and this had proceeded to such an extent in several cases, that the men were lame for life. The surgeon, who was himself afflicted in the same way, and had been lame from childhood, was at a loss as to the cause of the malady; but Colonel Boardman at once threw a light upon the subject by a remark not unlikely to suggest itself to the mind of a military man. He had observed that the marines, when dressed, had thick woollen breeches, and long worsted stockings, so that during the day time, when on their post, the men had the knees doubly covered. After sunset, when off guard, the parade dress was laid aside, and canvas trowsers substituted, leaving the knee with little pro-

tection from the cold air of the night; and he inferred that the mischief in the joint arose from the sudden and violent change in the temperature maintained around it. The result proved the justness of his conjecture as to the cause of the malady; for on taking proper precautions to maintain the warmth by clothing, no further cases occurred; and the surgeon himself recollected, what it is singular he should ever have forgotten, that his own crippled state had been occasioned by exposure to cold. Trifling as this matter may seem, it is not without use to point out the benefit that may be derived from the observation of intelligent men, even of a different profession.

"One amusing circumstance occurred also at this time aboard the Sybil, which it may not be improper to add, as evincing great readiness of resource in a sailor, though in a case of much less importance than the preceding. One of the quarter-masters, familiarly called by everybody, "Old John Iceberg, a Swede," had a favourite cat, which, contrary to the reputed character of those animals, evinced as much attachment to her master as a dog is used to do. It slept in his hammock, and when he had the watch on deck amused itself with playing in the rigging, leaping from it to the spanker boom, and from thence to the boat which hung over the stern. It happened one night that the boat having been kept on shore by bad weather, and puss not being aware of its absence, in the course of her gambols she went overboard, to the utter despair of poor Iceberg. He however soon recollected himself; threw the captain's dog overboard, and reporting to the

officer on watch that the dog was in the water, volunteered his services to go after it. While in the boat it may naturally be supposed that the first object of his care was the cat, and having picked her up, he proceeded at his leisure to the relief of Echo."

Ill health, the natural consequence of a service so fatiguing, and so exposed to extremities of cold, rendered it necessary for Mr. Brenton to come on shore, in the latter end of 1795. On his recovery, and application to the Admiralty for employment, he found himself appointed Second Lieutenant to the Alliance store ship, under orders for the Mediterranean, a situation but ill according with the feelings of an officer, ambitious of rising in the service, and who depended solely on his own exertions, and the opportunities that might offer for distinguishing himself. Of this illness, and the results to which it led, Mr. Brenton speaks thus in his private memoranda, "I became very unwell, and was recommended to go ashore for the winter of 1795-6, which I the more regretted from the circumstance of Captain Douglas, now Admiral John Erskine Douglas, having been appointed to command the Sybil, an officer of distinguished merit, and great abilities, and from whom I felt that I should learn much. I proceeded immediately to Edinburgh, where my father was regulating captain. I was put under the care of Dr. Munro, by whose judicious treatment I was soon in a state of convalescence. But the idea of being out of employment during an active war, preyed upon my mind. I wrote to the Admiralty in the middle of December, stating my ability to serve again, and re-

questing an appointment. Not receiving an early answer, my impatience to be afloat again induced me, contrary to the advice of my physician, to set off for London. On my arrival I had the mortification to find that I was appointed Second Lieutenant of the Alliance store ship, a station that I at once considered disgraceful and degrading to an officer, who had been for some time First Lieutenant of a frigate. I went to the Admiralty, and laid my case before Admiral Young, then one of the board, by whom I was kindly received. Having heard my story, he acknowledged that the Admiralty had resolved to discountenance any officer going to sick quarters. He admitted that in many cases the innocent would suffer with the guilty; he believed my case to be one of this description, and recommended me to join my ship, in the expectation that I should soon receive something better. I went away, deeply depressed by what I had heard. I felt that all my prospects of promotion and distinction had vanished; and was only supported by the conviction that the disgrace, for such I considered it to be, was unjustly inflicted; that it was contrary to my wish that I had left my ship, but that my physician had declared that my life was endangered by remaining."

In order to explain the violence of the feelings produced in Mr. Brenton's mind by this appointment, it may be necessary to state his own remark. "It had been then for some time the practice, impolitic in every point of view, to appoint officers who had fallen under the censure of a court martial to these store ships. This had been done in forgetfulness of the value of these

vessels, of the very great importance of their cargoes to the fleets and arsenals in foreign stations, and of the small number of officers allowed to them; which seemed to require that the few in command should be men of experience, and men on whose character reliance might be placed. The officer who had been appointed first of the Alliance refused to join her. One who had been just dismissed from his ship, by a court martial, for intemperance, was appointed second; and I was finally appointed first of this store ship. Captain Cumming (late Rear Admiral) commanded her, and did me ample justice by bearing testimony to my conduct, and giving full credit to my exertions under circumstances so discouraging and humiliating.

"The ship was fitted out and sailed in the latter end of March, with a convoy of more than 300 sail for different parts of the world, which were to separate at Cape Finisterre for the several places to which they were bound.

"When crossing the Bay of Biscay a letter was sent from the Admiral's ship, which had been probably forgotten in England, by which I was informed that I was to be appointed First Lieutenant of the Diamond, of thirty-eight guns, under the command of my friend, Sir Sidney Smith, who had commenced his career in the navy under my father, in the Tortoise store ship; and who, while we were together in Sweden had evinced much regard for me. Hence this intended appointment.

"It is hardly necessary to add, that had this appointment taken place, which but for the singular oversight

that led to the delay of the letter, most certainly would have been the case, I certainly should have followed the fortunes of Sir Sidney Smith, and should probably have shared his long and perilous captivity in France; while I must have forfeited the benefits arising from the patronage of my constant friend, Earl St. Vincent, who, from the moment he first became acquainted with me, lost no opportunity of forwarding my interests, and of placing me in important posts."

On receiving the letter Mr. Brenton says, "I shewed it to my captain, requesting permission to return to England, some vessel probably leaving the fleet, being bound thither at the time. Captain Cumming kindly appealed to me, whether, knowing the state of the ship, and the utter incapacity of the other Lieutenant to do the duty, he could possibly accede to my request. The argument was but too well grounded, and I was under the necessity of submitting. And here we have a striking instance, that the most gloomy and unpromising circumstances may eventually lead to the completion of our most sanguine expectations; whilst the gratification of our immediate wishes might only end in disappointment. I have often felt that the hand of a kind providence was peculiarly manifested in my favour upon this occasion. The Diamond was sent to cruize off the coast of France, and Sir Sidney Smith soon after was taken prisoner, having landed near Havre in an enterprize against the enemy. He was confined for a long time in the Temple. If I had not accompanied my chivalrous friend on this occasion, which it is not improbable might have been the case, I

should at all events have lost the benefit of his influence, and have had very little chance of promotion; whereas by proceeding to the Mediterranean in the Alliance, I was placed in the way of success, and in a short time attained what I had hitherto hardly ventured to hope.

"On the arrival of the Alliance at St. Fiorenzo I addressed a letter to the Commander in chief, Sir John Jervis, detailing the circumstances of my present appointment; and requesting that he would not attribute it to misconduct on my part; referring him to the different captains with whom I had sailed for my character and abilities. To my great delight, in a short time I received an appointment to the Gibraltar, of eighty guns, a situation most highly gratifying, and beyond my most sanguine wishes. The Alliance being ordered with supplies of stores to the fleet off Toulon, I had an immediate opportunity of joining the Gibraltar; having first waited on the Commander in chief, to thank him for the appointment. Sir John Jervis received me in the kindest manner, saying he considered the sons of officers as children of the service, and that he felt it his duty to provide for them.

"On joining the Gibraltar I found the ship had been in a most unpleasant state in consequence of a litigious spirit, which had crept in among the officers, and which had led to numerous courts martial; so that the captain and officers were not upon friendly terms. Captain Pakenham however came forward upon this occasion in the handsomest manner, saying to the officers whom he assembled for the purpose, "Come, gentlemen, let us now give the new First Lieutenant a

fair chance. Let us bury the hatchet and be friends.' The greatest cordiality and comfort ensued; and consequently the discipline of the ship was rapidly improved. This the Admiral attributed to my exertions, while it was the natural result of restored harmony between the Captain and those under his command.

"The summer was passed in blockading Toulon. In the course of this season evident indications appeared of hostile intentions on the part of the Spaniards, who had a very powerful fleet in the Mediterranean. Sir John Jervis felt it necessary to concentrate his force as much as possible; and for this purpose repaired with the fleet to Fiorenzo bay, in Corsica, leaving a small but active force off Toulon, to watch the movements of the French in that port.

"In the latter part of October, it was found necessary to evacuate Corsica; and the Smyrna convoy having arrived there, the Admiral sailed with fifteen sail of the line for Gibraltar, in the beginning of November; each ship of the line with a Smyrna man in tow. The weather was very bad, and the winds generally shifting, adverse, and squally, so as to render the towing of the convoy a service of difficulty and danger; two of them were lost in consequence, being run down. The fleet arrived at Gibraltar early in December. The Spaniards had by that time declared war; and there was no longer any impediment to their forming a junction with the French fleet, which would make their force exceed forty-three sail of the line. Sir John Jervis, that he might be in readiness to sustain the attack of the enemy, moored his ships in the form of a crescent,

extending from the Ragged staff to Rosia bay; the sternmost ship of the weather line lying off the former place; and the last of the sea line, the Gibraltar, being off Rosia bay, in a most exposed situation, with scarcely any hold for her anchors from the steepness of the bank. Here, on the 10th of December, a most tremendous gale of wind from the E.S.E. came on, at first in heavy squalls with long intervals. The Gibraltar brought her anchors home, and great exertions were made during the lulls to lay them out again. As the night approached the wind increased to a hurricane. I stated my opinion to the captain that the ship could not hold on during the night; he appeared to be of the same opinion, and expressed his intention, should the ship drive, to cut, and make sail at once, so as to keep the straits open. A very heavy sea was at the time breaking round Europa point, and against the Spanish shore on the lee side of the bay. The captain recommended me to retire to my cot, and get a little repose, as I was evidently unwell. I had hardly gone down, when a tremendous squall came on, and the ship began to drive. I ran upon deck as soon as possible; but before I reached it, I heard the sheet cable running out, the anchor having been let go by the captain's order. This change of mind is to be accounted for only by the apprehension the captain was under of the Admiral's displeasure; and the hope he entertained, however feeble, that the ship might be brought up; but of this it soon appeared there was no prospect. She was off the bank in a few minutes, with her three anchors hanging to her bows.

"The cables were immediately cut, and sail made upon the ship; but as the topsails had been furled double reefed, it became necessary to close reef them before they could be set. The foresail was set at once, and the main-tack got on board; but in hauling aft the sheet, it was found to have got a round turn, round the main top gallant yard, in the lee rigging; nor could any efforts clear it from the shaking of the sail, the violence of the wind, and the darkness of the night. The yard was cut away from the main chains, and flew out to leeward, still confined by both parts of the sheet round it, and it was found impossible to get the sheet aft for some time In the meantime, the topsails split, as they were loosed from the yards; the ship had now lost the shelter of the rock of Gibraltar, and felt the full force of the heavy sea rolling into the bay. It was also seen breaking to a fearful height over the Pearl rock off Cabritta point, which was under our lee; and in order to run her out clear of it, the jib was set; thus co-operating with a deep pitch in a heavy sea, carried away the foretop-mast. She now rapidly approached the rock; was soon in the foam occasioned by the breakers; and in another moment struck upon the rock with a dreadful crash, and was thrown nearly on her beam ends; but most providentially this latter circumstance, by decreasing for the moment her draught of water, was the means of carrying her over the rock, when she righted without striking again.

"The panic was great as may easily be conceived, and a general cry of 'Cut away the masts' was heard from every part of the ship. The captain having been

carried into the cabin severely hurt from a fall, just before the ship struck, the command had devolved upon me. I prevented the masts from being cut away, not from any prospect of saving the ship, but in the hope of being able to run her into a sandy bay, near Cabritta point. The first order I gave was to sound the well; when, to my great surprise, it was reported that there was no water in it. I therefore ordered the ship to be kept away, under her tattered sail, so as to give her fresh way, and hauling up, gradually succeeded in getting her into the Gut, and free from any danger of the land; when we proceeded to clear the wreck, to shift the sails, and to bend a cable to the spare anchor. It happened providentially that there were on board two anchors belonging to the Censeur, a French seventy-four, a prize which had been burnt by accident in Fiorenzo bay, and which were to have been landed at Lisbon, when the fleet should have arrived there. These anchors were immediately got up from the main hatchway, where they had been stowed; and after being stocked, had cables bent to them.

"The gale continued during the remainder of the night, and through the following morning. In the afternoon it became quite moderate, and the Zealous, commanded by Captain Hood, was seen standing out of Tangier bay, and approaching the Gibraltar. A boat came on board, bringing information to Captain Pakenham that Captain Hood had slipped the cable, by which the Zealous was riding in Tangier bay, and had left a buoy on the cable, with a boat fast to it, in order that the Gibraltar might run in and take advantage of it, in the

natural expectation that she must have lost her anchors in driving out of the bay.

"This was a most judicious measure, and quite characteristic of the excellent officer who suggested it. The Gibraltar availed herself of it; and having got to snug anchorage in smooth water, was soon able to get the anchors which had been stocked, over the bows; which it would not only have been difficult, but dangerous to do while exposed to a heavy sea."

The perilous situation of the Gibraltar, in this awful night, has furnished an interesting subject for Captain Brenton's pencil; when in a leisure hour, many years afterwards, he made a drawing from recollection of the ship during the most critical moment, and it may perhaps assist the reader to form a notion of the extreme peril to which the ship was exposed, when the circumstances are named, which, under providence, seem to have been the means of her preservation.

The Gibraltar was a Spanish built ship, and on examining the injuries done to the vessel, when docked for repairing; it was found that the whole of the lower part of the ship was a solid mass of mahogany. No other fabric could have stood the violence of the shock when she struck on the reef; and enabled her to float after she was righted.

Captain Pakenham having spoken very highly to the Commander in chief of Mr. Brenton's conduct on this trying occasion, he was pleased to express himself most favourably towards him; and as the Gibraltar, on being surveyed at Lisbon, was found to have sustained so much damage that it was necessary to send her to

England; Sir John Jervis sent for Lieutenant Brenton, and informing him of the Gibraltar's destination, asked him at the same time whether he had any objections to remaining in the fleet; adding, that if such was his wish, he could give him the choice of two ships, the Diadem, of sixty-four guns, or the Aigle frigate of forty, to either of which he might be appointed First Lieutenant. After some hesitation, and not a little reluctance to quit the Gibraltar, to which ship he had become much attached; he chose the Aigle, in the hope that in a cruizing ship, he might have the means of distinguishing himself; and obtaining promotion; at least, greater means than could be expected in a ship of the line. Sir John Jervis entirely approved of his choice, and gave him a commission as First Lieutenant of the Aigle, then up the Mediterranean; and placed him *pro tempore* in the Barfleur, at the request of Vice Admiral Waldegrave, whose flag was flying in that ship. In this situation he was present at the battle of the 14th of February, off Cape St. Vincent; but being now a junior officer, he consequently derived no promotion from the circumstance.

The Aigle was about this time lost off Cape Farina; and Admiral Waldegrave having shifted his flag from the Barfleur to take the command at Newfoundland, Mr. Brenton, from seniority, became First Lieutenant under the command of Captain Dacres. The events of this summer were confined to the bombardment of Cadiz. At one of these attacks Mr. Brenton volunteered his services, and was engaged in the command of the Barfleur's boats. In the month

of August he was removed into the Ville de Paris, bearing the flag of Earl St. Vincent; and the fleet soon after sailed for Lisbon.

On the subject of this appointment the following particulars are mentioned by Lieutenant Brenton, "In the month of August, Earl St. Vincent sent for me, and informed me that it had long been his intention to have taken me into the Ville de Paris, as one of his Lieutenants. He said there was now a vacancy; but observed at the same time that he scarcely thought it worth my while to quit the Barfleur (where he understood I was very happy) for he was firmly convinced that peace with France was at that moment signed; (this was the period of Lord Malmesbury's having been sent to Lille to negociate). In proof that he held this opinion, his Lordship added that he had just laid a wager to this effect with Sir James Saumarez of one hundred guineas. Under these circumstances I declined the appointment, and returned to my ship.

"On communicating to my excellent friend, Captain Dacres, the result of this interview with the Earl, I found him quite of a different opinion. He expressed great regret at my decision, which he considered as ruinous to my prospects, convinced as he was that there was no prospect of peace.

"Captain Dacres was to dine with the Admiral on that day, when he took an opportunity of requesting him to renew the offer, pledging himself that it would be accepted. The Earl, who had not yet filled up the vacancy, ordered a commission to be made out, appointing me to the Ville de Paris, which he gave to Captain Dacres,

who, on coming on board presented it to me, saying, 'There, I have now turned you out of my ship, an act for which you will undoubtedly thank me some of these days.' I certainly did leave the Barfleur with a heavy heart, for I highly respected and loved my captain, and the regard was mutual. I was also much attached to my brother officers, and had every reason to believe I carried with me the good wishes of all the ship's company. The Barfleur might have emphatically been called a happy ship."

During the winter of 1797-8 Mr. Brenton was employed by his lordship in sounding the Tagus, between Lisbon and Salvatierra, for the purpose of facilitating the passage of the transports up the river to procure water. Mr. Brenton was also sent in the Thalia, commanded by Lord Harry Paulet to survey Jeremie Bay, in order to ascertain whether there existed any good anchorage for the fleet. In the following spring the fleet resumed the blockade of Cadiz. The Vengeance, French frigate, was lying there ready for sea, and was expected to take advantage of the first opportunity which should offer of making her escape. In order to watch her movements narrowly during the night, two boats belonging to each ship were ordered to rendezvous every evening off the light house, under the command of a Lieutenant of the Ville de Paris. This command was latterly confined to two of the Lieutenants, of whom Mr. Brenton was one, and Mr. Melhuish the other. The guard boats were frequently attacked by the enemy's gun boats; and upon one of these occasions Mr. Brenton had an opportunity of distinguishing him-

self, so as to gain the approbation of the Commander in chief, and to induce his lordship to promote him to the command of the Speedy, the same in which he had already served as a lieutenant. Adverting to this period, Mr. Brenton says, "This was a service of much animation, and even of enjoyment. The officers in general managed to carry with them some good things, of which the midshipmen were invited to partake, nor were the boat's crew forgotten. In calm weather their voices and their mirth were distinctly heard by the Spanish troops on the batteries; but the noble-minded Spaniard, who commanded in Cadiz, would not on any account allow them to be fired at. He however requested the Spanish Admiral to send off a flag of truce, informing the Earl how completely his boats were exposed to destruction, and requesting that they might not be permitted to persevere in behaviour, which the garrison considered as insulting. The Commander in chief immediately made known this communication to me, as it was my turn to command the boats that night, desiring it might be attended to; but he did it in these words, 'Allow no noise to be made, Sir, by your people; but go still nearer in.'"

Captain Brenton says, relative to his appointment to the Speedy, "It was a singular circumstance that I had already served in the Speedy, both as second and first lieutenant; and while talking over expected promotion with my messmates, who were naming the favourite sloops to which they should prefer being appointed, I always named the Speedy."

Captain Brenton took his passage in the Blenheim,

which was bound to Lisbon; but the day after leaving the fleet, the Blenheim having put into Lagos bay, he decided upon going to Lisbon by land, which he did, accompanied by Mr. Jephson, Judge of the Admiralty, and afterwards Sir —— Jephson, Bart. They had a most agreeable and interesting journey; and in a few days after their arrival at Lisbon the Speedy entered the Tagus, and her new commander joined her. From this period (the beginning of September) until the month of February following, the sloop, of which he had taken the command, was kept cruizing off Oporto, for the protection of the wine trade.

CHAPTER III.

SERVICE IN THE SPEEDY. — ACTION WITH GUN BOATS OFF GIBRALTAR. — SENT TO PENON DE VELEZ. — ACTION ON THE COAST, AND WITH GUN BOATS. — HIS BROTHER'S DEATH FROM WOUNDS RECEIVED IN ACTION IN THE PETEREL. — LETTER TO HIS FATHER. — MADE POST, AND APPOINTED TO THE TEMPORARY COMMAND OF THE GENEREUX AT PORT MAHON. — SAILS TO GENOA.

IN the month of February, 1799, Captain Brenton was charged with a valuable convoy of victuallers from Lisbon, to supply the fleet off Cadiz. The latter had by stress of weather been driven up the straits, and great apprehensions were entertained for the safety of the convoy under so weak an escort. They were attacked in the bay of Gibraltar, by twenty-three gun boats, and Captain Brenton had the satisfaction of receiving the thanks of the Earl of St. Vincent (who was an eye witness) for the manner in which he had defended his charge. It is fit that on this occasion he should be his own historian, and that the account of the action should be given from his own pen.

"Early in February, I was sent with a convoy of victuallers to the fleet blockading Cadiz; and on my approach towards San Lucar, not seeing any of the look-out ships, which were usually stationed far to the westward,

I suspected that in the preceding very heavy gales from the westward, the fleet might have been driven through the straits, and I felt a considerable anxiety for the fate of my convoy. I in consequence made the signal for them to make all sail for Cape Trafalgar, whilst I proceeded towards Cadiz, taking my station on the foretop gallant yard, with my spy glass, to be in readiness to communicate the earliest information of danger to the convoy, which were not likely to be out of sight, before I should have a full view of Cadiz. I found my expectations respecting our fleet were realized, but the Spaniards were still in port. I then rejoined my convoy, and made all sail for Gibraltar.

"By the repeated signals flying along the coast, I was well aware that the Spanish gun boats were prepared to attack the convoy, and I accordingly formed them into two very clear and compact lines, directing them to preserve this order of sailing by every effort in their power. On passing Cabritta point, I observed the whole of the Spanish gun boats lying under it, evidently waiting for the convoy. They immediately pushed out with sails and oars, and began the attack. The Speedy wore round ahead of the convoy, in order to close up the lee line, which seemed disposed to straggle; and then taking our station on their larboard quarter, we brought to ahead of the gun boats, which immediately desisted from their attack on the convoy, and seemed to unite their efforts upon the Speedy. As soon however as the convoy was so far advanced as to ensure their getting under the guns of Gibraltar, the Speedy followed them. There was but one ship of war in the bay, which

was the Montague, with the flag of Lord St. Vincent; and a boat came off from her, with orders for me to take my convoy over to Tetuan bay; where I was informed the fleet was lying under the command of Lord Keith. I accordingly proceeded thither, and found my arrival had been most anxiously looked for; as the fleet had been on short allowance of some species of provisions, and greatly in want of all to enable them to resume their blockade off Cadiz.

"When the signals were made by the Spaniards, the garrison of Gibraltar, to whom these signals were known, felt great uneasiness at the imminent danger to which the supplies for the fleet were exposed, upon which so much depended. This feeling was very strong in the breast of Lord St. Vincent, who had no means of increasing the force of the convoy; and he was in proportion relieved and gratified by the safe arrival of the convoy. He expressed his warmest approbation to Captain Brenton on his return from Tetuan, as did the Governor and principal officers of the garrison. But little injury was done to the Speedy, or any of her convoy."

It is a subject of regret that the official letter, giving the account of this spirited, and well conducted action, does not appear in the public records of the day.

Early in March Captain Brenton says, "The Speedy was ordered to cruize off Penon de Velez; and my orders, when delivered by Earl St. Vincent were accompanied by the following observation, 'You are to understand that the Spaniards have a garrison at Penon de Velez—that they have no communication whatever

with any part of the coast on which this place is situated—that they get their food, their raiment, and even the water they require, from Malaga, which are carried over to them by vessels under convoy of two rascally brigs—just like your own. Now, Sir, be off; I hope you will fall in with them.' "

Having returned from this duty (the wished-for rencounter, as it appears, not having taken place); Captain Brenton continues, "The Speedy was ordered to proceed to Oran, in order to bring down some prizes, which had been taken in there to wait for a convoy to Gibraltar. The wind, during March and April, blew almost a continued heavy gale from the westward. I made various attempts to get down to Gibraltar with my convoy, but without success, bearing up again for Oran.

"On one occasion, having been joined by the Espoir sloop of sixteen guns, I had got as far as Cape de Gatte, and observing a very suspicious looking brig come out from under the land, I made the signal for the Espoir to chase. Both vessels made all the sail they could carry; and towards evening a very heavy squall coming on with thick weather, the chase and the chaser were both lost sight of. Towards evening the latter came down, not having been able to keep sight of the stranger, and apprehensive of losing the convoy. A heavy gale came on from the westward in the course of the night; and on the following evening, as there was no appearance of its abating, I made the signal to bear up for Oran, where we arrived on the next day; but the gale continuing, no boat was sent on shore. On

the second day after we anchored in Oran, some seamen in blue jackets were seen coming over the hills; and as no boats from any of the convoy had reached the shore, I was anxious to know from whence these seamen could have come, concluding some wreck had taken place upon the coast. By great exertion a boat was got on shore, and soon returned with the captain and five seamen of the brig which had been chased off Cape de Gatte, by the Espoir; and which, as I have mentioned, was lost sight of in the squall. The fact is, that in that squall the unfortunate brig was upset; and as she went down, the captain, boatswain, and five men jumped into the boat, and cutting the lashings, were left on the surface as the vessel sank. There was neither oar nor rudder in the boat, but providentially the rudder of the boat was found, amidst other things washed out of the vessel, and a couple of oars. On the following morning, in the height of the gale, the weather being clear, they distinctly saw the convoy, and endeavoured to make signals to them, but without effect, from the sea running so high. When the convoy bore up in the evening for Oran, the captain, finding it impossible, from the direction of the wind, to approach the Spanish shore, kept before the sea, spreading shirts upon the oars for sails, and endeavoured to find shelter in some of the bays of the coast of Africa. Providentially they reached a little cove with a sandy beach, just to the westward of Oran; and having caught a hawk's bill turtle as they approached the shore, by devouring it raw, they acquired sufficient strength to land in a heavy surf, and to beach their boat. The boatswain, who was a strong powerful

man, sank under exhaustion before they reached the land. They were received on board the Speedy; and by the judicious conduct of the surgeon, were soon restored to perfect health.

"The vessel lost was an American brig from Baltimore. Her commander's name was Brand, and twelve men were lost in her. Mr. Brand's escape was the more providential, as he was asleep below when she upset; and being thrown out of his bed, by the sudden movement, was enabled to get up the ladder, before the hatchway was filled with water."

A few days after the convoy had reached Oran, the gale continuing to blow with great violence at times, but at others more moderately; the Terpsichore frigate commanded by Captain Gage, entered the bay of Oran with her convoy from Minorca, bound to Gibraltar also; and about a week later, at the close of a day on which there had been almost a hurricane, a Spanish line of battle ship, with only her foremast standing, and her mainmast lying buried on the poop, came into the bay, and let go her anchor about half a mile from the Speedy, which happened to be the farthest out.

Captain Gage directed Captain B. to watch the motions of the Spaniard, expressing his intentions to attack him, should he move beyond the limits of neutrality. At daylight the Spaniard was seen to cut his cable, and put to sea: the wind had greatly moderated, but a heavy sea continued. The Terpsichore and Speedy slipped their cables, and were immediately in pursuit. The Spanish ship was rolling her main deck ports

in the water; the weather was very thick; the Speedy had approached nearly within gun-shot, and was preparing to open her fire, with her four pounders, into the stern of the enemy, whilst the Terpsichore's fire, which would soon have followed, would, without doubt, have insured the surrender of the helpless Spaniard; when at the moment, the fog cleared away, and shewed the Spanish fleet of eighteen sail of the line in the offing, and at a very short distance. The expected prize at once vanished, and it became necessary for the English vessels to seek their own safety. The Terpsichore returned to Oran, and the Speedy running close in shore got to the westward of the bay.

Of the Spaniards six sail had lost their lower masts, and many their topmasts. The Spaniards availing themselves of a strong S.W. wind shaped their course for Carthagena. On the following morning, the Speedy fell in with a British squadron of five sail of the line, under Admiral Whitshed; who, on being informed by Captain Brenton of the crippled state of the Spaniards, made sail in pursuit of them; and the Speedy returned to Oran, where, having joined the two convoys, they proceeded together to Gibraltar, where they arrived early in May. The Speedy was then sent to resume her station off Oporto, but in the month of July was again detached to take the English mail from Lisbon to Gibraltar. Here upon examining her defects, she was found in such a state as to render it necessary to heave her down.

Earl St. Vincent having given up the command of the fleet to Lord Keith, was at this time at Gibraltar,

with his flag in the Argo, waiting for wind to sail to England. The Channel fleet, under Sir Alan Gardner, had formed a junction with the Mediterranean fleet, and had gone up the Mediterranean in pursuit of the combined fleets of France and Spain.

While the Speedy was undergoing repair, and was keel out; the combined fleet was seen approaching the straits from the eastward; and a cutter sent out to reconnoitre, was captured by them, in consequence of a partial breeze favouring a Spanish frigate while the cutter was becalmed. Earl St. Vincent ordered the Speedy to be immediately righted, and to prepare for sea. Copper was nailed over the defective parts; and by the assistance of the Argo, she was ready to proceed on the following evening, with orders to look for Lord Keith, and to communicate to him the information, that the enemy had left the Mediterranean. He fell in with his lordship off Cabrera, in the course of a very few days, after leaving Gibraltar. He had already received the intelligence from some merchant vessel, that the combined fleet had been seen near the straits, steering to the westward, and was in pursuit of them. The day was beautiful when the Speedy fell in with the Admiral; and the immense fleet of thirty-two sail of the line sailing in two divisions, formed a most magnificent spectacle. Lord Keith sent the Speedy to Minorca with dispatches, with orders to resume her station off Oporto on her return. He continued his pursuit; but the enemy had got far too much start of him, and reached Brest, long before the British fleet could get up with them.

The following letter from Captain Brenton to his father may here be introduced as carrying on the narrative.

"SPEEDY, OFF CAPE DE GATTE, JULY 17th, 1799.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Since my last off Lisbon no opportunity whatever occurred for my writing, I had scarcely time to reach Oporto, Lisbon, and Gibraltar, before our quarantine expired; we were ordered instantly into the mole, to heave down. On Sunday, the 8th, the Speedy was keel out, having her copper repaired, and on Tuesday was at sea, on her passage to join Lord Keith, with the intelligence of the Spanish fleet, in conjunction with the French, having passed the straits of Gibraltar to the westward; the particulars you will have, long before you receive this, as the Haarlem, and other vessels, were instantly dispatched for England.

"The Haarlem had but just time to clear the Gut, when the van of the enemy's fleet appeared in sight, and the rear of them had only passed the rock, when the Speedy came out; but by favour of the night we escaped a rencounter with the gun boats, who were waiting behind Europa, to intercept any vessels going to the eastward. We fell in with Lord Keith yesterday, but have not yet spoke him; his lordship has, as yet, only received the intelligence of the enemy being off Gibraltar, and is in full cry with thirty-two sail of the line, we are however coming up hand over hand with him, owing to light winds and smooth water. I expect to be on board the Queen Charlotte in two hours; and as there is a strong probability of my being ordered to part company instantly, I shall have this letter ready to dispatch, and take another opportunity of being particular. I have the mail on board and passengers for Minorca, by which means I hope to see Wallace, who is in that neighbourhood.

"Lord St. Vincent arrived at Gibraltar a few days before we left it. His lordship is not well. This unexpected event has been of no service to him. His behaviour to me, has (if possible) been

kinder than ever; he appeared pleased with our exertions, and has, I believe, given me some good recommendations to his successor, Lord Keith. I believe I may deem his lordship one of the best friends I ever met with, and should he become premier at the Admiralty, which is by no means impossible, I hope we shall all feel the good effects of his patronage.

"Remember me most affectionately to my mother; I will give her the earliest information of our destiny and late proceedings. If Captain Berkeley of the 90th regiment, should call upon you at Edinburgh, may I request you will deem him a welcome guest. I have much esteem for him, and he deserves it. He is but slowly recovering from a fit of illness, which had for some time deprived him of the use of one side. I was to have given him a letter, but was prevented by his sudden departure.

"Adieu, my dear Sir; I beg my best love to the girls, and to be considered as your ever dutiful and affectionate son,

"J. BRENTON."

"7 P. M. Just spoke Lord Keith, and have received orders to proceed to Minorca.

"JAHLEEL BRENTON, ESQ.
REGULATING CAPTAIN, EDINBURGH."

After remaining a few days at Port Mahon, the Speedy directed her course for Gibraltar; and when off Cape de Gatte gave chase to three large armed Xebecs, which ran in and anchored in a close line, in a sandy bay to the westward of the cape. The Speedy immediately attacked them under sail, and was joined by the Defender, a brig privateer, belonging to Gibraltar, of twelve guns. Captain Brenton finding he could not keep up an effectual fire under weigh, pushed in, in hopes of finding soundings, which he at length did within pistol shot of the enemy, and let go his anchor.

The engagement continued for more than half an hour, when the Spaniards took to their boats, and their vessels were captured and brought off by the Speedy and Defender. The largest mounted twelve, the second ten, and the third six guns; and in a few days with the Speedy arrived at Gibraltar.

The Speedy again visited Oporto, and was again dispatched from Lisbon to Gibraltar with the mail. On her way back from the rock to Oporto, she chased three Spanish vessels, and drove them on shore; but the surf was so heavy they could not be got off.

The following official letters describe some of the actions in which the Speedy was engaged, and the opinions pronounced on her commander by his superiors.

From the Gazette, Admiralty Office, 21st September, 1799.

Copy of a letter from Earl St. Vincent, K.B. Admiral of the White, &c. to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated 17th Sept. 1799.

"SIR,

"I enclose for the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, a letter I have received from Captain Brenton, of His Majesty's Sloop Speedy, giving an account of the capture of three Spanish armed vessels.

"ST. VINCENT."

"SPEEDY, GIBRALTAR, AUGUST 21st, 1799.

"MY LORD,

"I have the honour to inform your lordship, that on the 9th inst., in company with the Defender, British Privateer of Gibraltar, of fourteen guns, we captured the Spanish armed vessels, as per margin, after an action of two hours and a half.

Upon seeing us they ran into a small sandy bay, five leagues to the eastward of Cape de Gatte, and moored in a close line, within a boat's length of the beach; we engaged them an hour and three quarters under sail, before we could gain soundings, although not more than a cable's length distant from the rocks; but finding the enemy had much the advantage, from our constant change of position, I determined to push for an anchorage, and was fortunate enough to effect one within pistol shot of the centre vessel. After three quarters of an hour close action, the Spaniards took to their boats, cutting the cables of two of the vessels which drove on shore; they were, however, all brought off by our boats, under a constant fire of musketry from the hills. The privateer, having but twenty-two men, was obliged to stand out, to procure assistance from a boat she had in the offing, and could not reach the anchorage, till the conclusion of the action. The conduct of her commander was highly meritorious throughout, and must have considerably accelerated the event. The officers and men under my command behaved in such a manner as would have ensured our success against a more formidable enemy. The Speedy had but two men wounded, the Defender one, neither dangerous. We found two men dead on board the Spaniards; the remainder of the crews escaped on shore.

"JAHLEEL BRENTON."

Ships mentioned in the margin:

"Santo Christo de Garcia, eight guns, six and nine pounders.

"Name unknown, ten guns, six and nine pounders.

"Name unknown, four guns, sixes."

"ADMIRALTY OFFICE, OCTOBER 26, 1799.

Copy of a letter from Rear Admiral Duckworth to Evan Nepean, Esq., dated Leviathan, off Lisbon, the 13th inst.

"SIR,

"You will be pleased to lay before my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the copy of a letter from Captain Brenton, of the Speedy, relating the destruction of three Spanish

vessels he chased on the 3rd inst.; it is but justice to this officer to observe, that his exertions and gallantry at all opportunities do him the highest honour.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"J. J. DUCKWORTH."

"SPEEDY, AT SEA, OCTOBER 4, 1799.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to inform you, that yesterday, whilst running through the gut of Gibraltar, in sight of the British convoy, I observed a number of small vessels, coming out of Algesiras, and concluded they were Spanish gun boats, endeavouring to cut off some of the merchant ships; I therefore steered for them, in order to keep them as far as possible from the body of the fleet; but upon our near approach, perceiving they were Spanish coasters, eight in number, under the protection of a cutter and schooner, made all sail in chase, and soon separated the two sternmost from the body; they ran under the guns of a castle, which opened a fire upon us, and prevented our bringing them off. We continued the pursuit of the others, passing under the shot from Tariffa castle; and at four p.m. came up with four more in a bay to the eastward of Cape Trafalgar: one immediately anchored near a fort, and the other three under a castle which had one gun mounted; as it blew very heavy from the eastward, and being on a lee shore, we could not go as near them as I could wish, but anchored within four cables' length, and bringing our guns to bear upon the castle (which appeared to be in a very ruinous state, and did not return our fire,) and the vessels; we in a short time, compelled the Spaniards to abandon them all, first cutting their cables, by which means they drove on shore. I then sent Lieutenant Parker to endeavour to bring them off, and shortly after Mr. Marshall to assist; or if that was not practicable to set them on fire; neither of which could be effected from the heavy surf breaking entirely over them, and rendering our approach dangerous to the boats. They however boarded them, brought away some of their fire arms, threw the remainder over-

board, leaving them full of water, and complete wrecks. One vessel was laden with brandy and paper; one with English manufacture (cutlery, hardware, &c.); and the third in ballast. I beg leave to express the high satisfaction I received from the conduct of Lieutenant Parker, in boarding the vessel under the walls of the castle, while exposed to musketry from the beach; also of Mr. Ricketts, the purser, who was a volunteer upon that service. The attention of Mr. Marshall, the master, to the anchoring his Majesty's sloop, and the able assistance I have received from him on former occasions, renders him worthy of the fullest confidence.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"J. BRENTON."

"To REAR ADMIRAL DUCKWORTH," &c.

Early in November of this year, the Speedy was again sent from Lisbon, with a convoy to Gibraltar; and on entering the bay was attacked by twelve gun boats, and a ten gun French privateer. They came down in the most determined manner; and surrounded the Speedy off Europa point, with the intention of boarding; which Captain Brenton observing, directed the guns to be loaded with grape as far as it could be done with safety; and reserved the fire until the Spaniards rose to board, when the Speedy's fire was so destructive as to induce the Spaniards to sheer off, and run to leeward with great precipitation. The convoy in the meantime got safe into Gibraltar, and the Speedy was endeavouring to follow them; but it was soon found she had received so much damage, below the water line on the starboard side, from the enemy's shot, that she was filled with water to the lower deck. It became necessary immediately to veer her: and by carrying as much sail as her wounded rigging would

bear on the starboard tack, the leak was got out of the water. But to keep her in this position it became indispensible to stand across the straits, and run for shelter into Tetuan bay; which they reached late in the evening; and having repaired their damages, sailed early the next morning for Gibraltar. The Speedy had two men killed upon this occasion.

It was a subject of universal astonishment, that the Spaniards should have made so daring an attempt, as to attack the Speedy under the batteries of Gibraltar, actually within hail, as conversation passed between Captain Mottley (the resident agent for transports at Gibraltar) and Captain Brenton before the Spaniards surrounded the Speedy.

Upon Captain Brenton's return to Gibraltar, he received the thanks and congratulations of Governor O'Hara, and the garrison. "Speedy" was given out that evening for the parole, and "Brenton" for the countersign. Perhaps the full force of this flattering testimony can only be felt by those connected with the military profession.

On arriving at the rock, Captain Brenton waited upon the Governor, to remonstrate upon so extraordinary a circumstance; but the Governor, General O'Hara, anticipated his complaint, by explaining that in consequence of the Spanish authorities having threatened to bombard Gibraltar from Fort St. Phillip, on account of some fishing-boats having been fired at from the batteries by mistake, having been taken for row boat privateers, he (the Governor) had been obliged to prohibit all discretional firing; directing that no gun should be fired

without his express permission. He added, however, that the events of the preceding day convinced him that such a regulation could not be persevered in; that he had that morning issued orders that a most vigilant look out should in future be kept from the batteries; and a signal made when any privateer was seen under weigh, when she was to be fired at on her approach.

Rear Admiral Duckworth was at this time lying in the bay of Gibraltar; and reported Captain Brenton's conduct to the Admiralty, in a manner most flattering to his feelings, as did the Governor, and the Commissioner. The Governor's letter was addressed to Earl St. Vincent, then in England; and his lordship happened to be with Sir Evan Nepean, at the Admiralty, when it arrived. He had no sooner read the forcible appeal made by General O'Hara in favour of Captain Brenton, than he went to Lord Spencer, and laying the letter before him, said, "My lord, I will not leave your room until the request contained in that letter is complied with;" and Lord Spencer immediately wrote an order for Captain Brenton to be put into the first Post vacancy, that should occur in the Mediterranean.

It may perhaps be allowable to introduce here the description of this gallant action as given in the Naval Chronicle; and to add the official letter addressed to Admiral Duckworth.

"It is somewhat astonishing that the following remarkable instance of naval gallantry should never yet have been published; we therefore consider ourselves exceedingly obliged by being enabled to bring before our

readers such particulars, as must be read with the greatest admiration of the distinguished prowess they describe, and which so eminently redound to the credit of the officers and crews, who so ably and bravely defended themselves against such a very superior force. We have also subjoined the official letter sent by Captain Brenton* to Admiral Duckworth, on the occasion; documents which will prove completely illustrative of the whole transaction. The action certainly merits every commemoration, and the annexed plate is taken from a drawing representing the most interesting period of it.

"On the evening of the 6th of November, 1799, His Majesty's sloop, Speedy, commanded by Captain Jahleel Brenton, and her convoy, consisting of a ship (transport) laden with wine for the fleet, and a merchant brig bound to Trieste, were attacked upon their entering Gibraltar bay, by twelve Spanish gun boats; two of which were schooners, carrying two twenty-four pounders each, and fifty men; and the other, one twenty-four pounder and forty men; besides a Xebec, French privateer of eight guns. They first attempted the ship, and were prevented from carrying her by the Speedy passing between them, which enabled her to reach her anchorage in safety: their efforts were then united against the brig, when the Speedy bore up through the centre of them, and in three quarters of an hour obliged them to run for shelter under the guns of Fort Barbary.

* "This gallant officer has had his bravery rewarded by being promoted to the rank of Post Captain, and now commands the Cæsar of eighty-four guns, which at present bears the flag of Admiral Sir J. Saumarez."

"The crippled state of the Speedy's rigging, masts, and hull, and especially as the water was up to the lower deck, from shot received below, prevented Captain Brenton from pursuing the advantage he had gained. She had two men killed, and one wounded. The transport was most ably managed by her master, and worked round Europa Point through a very galling fire; the brig took advantage of a strong westerly wind, which sprung up after dark, and continued her voyage to Trieste. The Speedy was under the necessity of running for Tetuan bay, to stop the leaks; which being done, she returned to Gibraltar the following day.

"The Spanish gun boats, after remaining under Fort Barbary for three days, bore up for Malaga, and did not return to Algesiras for two months, leaving the trade unmolested in the Gut of Gibraltar. The Spaniards acknowledged they lost eleven men; four of their boats were seen to strike to the Speedy during the contest, by the inhabitants of Gibraltar, and the report was corroborated by a Danish brig from Malaga a few days after."

"SPEEDY, GIBRALTAR, NOVEMBER 21, 1799.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to inform you, that on the 6th instant, coming into Gibraltar, with two vessels under convoy, a ship and a brig, we were attacked by twelve of the Spanish gun boats from Algesiras. Having a commanding breeze, we were soon enabled to rescue the ship. The gun boats then united their efforts upon the brig, but bearing up upon their line with a well directed fire, we in a short time obliged them to relinquish their design also; and take shelter under the guns of Fort Barbary. The situation of the Speedy prevented my pursuing the advantage we had gained, having most of our running rigging cut away, our

main top sail yards shot through, and our fore rigging much cut, besides the water being up to the lower deck, from shot received below the water line. Not being able to carry sail upon the larboard tack, I was under the necessity of running for Tetuan Bay, to stop the leaks, and arrived here the day following. I cannot say too much in praise of Lieutenant Parker, Mr. Marshall, the master, and the remainder of the officers and men under my command, from their spirited exertions, and strict attention to their duty, we were enabled to save our convoy and His Majesty's sloop.

"I beg leave to enclose a return of our killed and wounded, and at the same time to add, that much praise is due to Mr. George Robinson, master of the transport Unity, for the manner he worked his ship during a very galling fire.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your very obedient servant,

"J. BRENTON."

"Patrick Blake and Wm. Pring, seamen killed.

"Thomas Riley, seaman wounded."

"To ADMIRAL DUCKWORTH," &c. &c. &c.

A few days after the action, Admiral Duckworth sent for Captain Brenton, and gave him the painful intelligence, that his brother, Lieutenant Brenton, of the Peterel, had been dangerously wounded in the boat of that ship, in capturing a Spanish privateer, and had been taken to the hospital at Port Mahon. He kindly ordered the Speedy to proceed thither with dispatches; and held out the hope that the wound might not be mortal. This flattering expectation was unhappily not realized, for upon the arrival of the Speedy at Port Mahon, Captain Brenton found that his brother had died a week previously, and had been buried with the honours of war. The amiable character, and gallant

conduct, of this promising young man had excited an universal interest.

The letter which Sir Jahleel Brenton wrote to his father on this occasion may be justly inserted, as exhibiting the simple and affectionate feelings which lived within the breast of one so distinguished for daring enterprise. In later years those feelings would have assumed a different form, and been expressed in a different manner; but it is the object of the memoir to present the man as he was, and the change that was effected will be most completely understood, by comparing what he was at different periods of his life.

. . . "Accustomed hitherto to receive only the most pleasing accounts from your sons, I feel an additional pang at the cruel necessity I am under, of destroying that happiness I had long indulged the idea, would last the remainder of your days. You will naturally conceive the nature of this melancholy event; but will at the same time, I trust, derive comfort and consolation from the circumstances attending it, and assist my dear mother in bearing her loss with resignation. Poor Wallace is no more; he died of his wounds the 15th of last month. He died as he lived, a hero; and a pattern to every young man both in public and private life, universally regretted and esteemed. The loss is only on our side. His amiable conduct through life has ensured him felicity for ever: and as a time must arrive when we must quit all who are dear to us, I can conceive no greater alleviation to our grief, than the object having fallen in his country's service, whilst nobly distinguishing himself, which was the case with my dear brother, who had already acquired a high reputation with his brother officers. I shall not attempt to offer consolation; besides feeling the want of it myself, I am convinced your own reflections will have more effect than all I could say on the subject.

"I was in some measure prepared for the melancholy event.

Admiral Duckworth's account alarmed me, though it left me hopes which I suffered myself to indulge when I wrote you from Gibraltar. The Admiral with the goodness of heart for which he is distinguished, sent me here in hopes of our meeting; a circumstance I shall ever remember. But whilst I am on the subject of gratitude, let me take the earliest opportunity of saying, how much we are all indebted to Lieutenant W. Pemberton, and his amiable wife, for their unwearied care of the poor fellow during his illness. To them he owed much of the comfort of his last moments. Pemberton seldom left him; and his wife was ever studying what was most grateful to his taste, and that in a country where the common necessaries of life were scarcely to be procured. Through their friendship, and the general interest every one took in his welfare, he wanted for nothing. I have long been in habits of intimacy with this worthy couple; they are now endeared to me; and I trust, some day, to have it in my power to acknowledge their kindness.

"I arrived here late last night, and shall sail immediately for Palermo, with dispatches for Lord Nelson. L'Alceste sails directly for England; by her you must receive the distressing intelligence. I shall avail myself of the same conveyance to suggest the steps which are likely to be of any service to Edward. Captain Western was promoted to Commander, from his brother having fallen, before Wallace did, and Edward has the same claim. I dont see how Lord Spencer can refuse it, when you apply to him. Let me request, my dear Sir, that you will use all your interest in his favour with Admiral Young, Lord Hood, or any one you think can serve him. I have fortunately had opportunities of acquiring myself friends, who I hope will enable me to go on by myself, and in some measure compensate for your loss. I mean in taking care of my sisters; in other respects I never can. I have a power of attorney to receive my brother's pay and prize money, which he wished to have laid out, either in an annuity for his sisters, or in a purchase, the interest of which might be for them, and the principal their property. I think it will be something considerable, and shall inform you as soon as possible, and request your advice upon the subject. In the mean-

time, my ever dear Sir, let me entreat you to remember, you have still two sons, whose only wishes are your happiness, and that of their dear mother and sisters. May my next be of a more cheerful nature, and that you may see many happy days, is the sincere wish of

"Dear Sir,

"Your ever dutiful and affectionate Son,

"JAHLEEL BRENTON.

"JANUARY 19th, 1800."

The Editor is happy in being allowed to add from the recently published Nelson Dispatches, a letter from Lord Nelson, as characteristic of that great and gallant man as it is honourable to the subject of this memoir.

PALERMO, DECEMBER, 7TH, 1799.

"SIR,

"Captain Brenton, of Her Majesty's sloop the Speedy, having on the 6th of November, with a convoy from the coast of Portugal, when attacked in the Straits by twelve Spanish gun boats, displayed uncommon skill and gallantry, in saving the sloop under his command, and all his convoy; I beg leave to recommend him to their lordship's notice; and if the merits of a Brother may be allowed to have any weight, I have the sorrow to tell you, that he (the brother James Wallace Brenton) lost his life, when Lieutenant of the Peterel, attempting, with great bravery, to bring off a vessel which the sloop had run ashore. He died of his wounds a few days ago at Minorca Hospital.

"I have the honour to be,

"Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"BRONTE NELSON."

The Speedy again returned to Gibraltar, and was immediately sent off again with dispatches to the

Commander in chief, then supposed to be off Malta; but on her arrival at St. Paul's bay, Captain Brenton found Nelson with his flag in the Foudroyant, and a squadron, co-operating with the land forces employed in the siege of Valetta. His lordship had recently had the satisfaction of seeing another of the French fleet, which he had so nearly annihilated in Aboukir bay, captured by the Northumberland and Success frigate. This was the Genereux. She had been sent to Minorca; and Lord Nelson, after warmly applauding Captain Brenton for his conduct, in his late encounter with the gun boats at Gibraltar, congratulated him upon his being made Post, from information which he had received from Lord Keith. The arrangement, by which this promotion took place, was that Captain Dixon, of the Lion, (the late Admiral Sir Manley Dixon) should be removed to the Genereux; that Lord William Stuart commanding the Souverein (the Sheer hulk at Gibraltar, which ship at the time was commanded by a Post Captain, and had charge of the general duties of the port of Gibraltar) should succeed to the Lion, and Captain Brenton to take command of the Souverein, to be succeeded in the Speedy by Lord Cochrane, who was made Commander.

The Speedy proceeded through the Phare of Messina on her way to Leghorn, where Captain Brenton was informed he would find the Commander in chief. He arrived there on the 18th of March, but saw no ship of war in the road. He soon however received the melancholy information that the Queen Charlotte, the flag ship, had taken fire on the preceding day, and had

blown up; scarcely two hundred men having been saved out of a complement of nearly eight hundred. The cause of this dreadful event arose from a quantity of hay being taken on board, and placed under the half deck, in readiness to be pressed; an operation that was then generally performed by having a strong wooden case placed in the after hatchway, to which a screw was applied, and a bag fitted to receive the hay, when it was brought into a portable compass. This was always a most dangerous operation, and should never be permitted; as the hay when purchased might be pressed on shore. In the present instance, the hay being brought on board loose, was carelessly thrown under the half-deck, between the guns. A match tub with a lighted match had been left there in readiness for a signal gun, and being unobserved by the man who carried the first truss of hay, it was covered over by it, and the whole space soon filled. The hay must have been a long time ignited, but no one coming to it, the fire did not shew itself until the moment when the ship getting under weigh, the wind rushed in through the weather ports, and caused it to break out in a fearful volume of flames, which catching the mainsail was soon at the mast head. Captain Todd, who commanded the ship, with admirable presence of mind, caused the anchors to be immediately let go, which brought the ship head to wind, and gave all who could get forward, a chance of saving their lives. Numerous boats pushed off from Leghorn, as soon as the ship was discovered to be on fire, but as they approached her, her guns becoming heated and being shotted, the Italians were alarmed and could

not be persuaded to approach her. Her own boats, such as could be got into the water, or were already out, were soon filled; and some from the English shipping in the harbour, getting under her bows, enabled the few who escaped to save their lives. The ship at length blew up. Captain Brenton met the few survivors of the officers at the Admiral's table at Leghorn on his arrival. It was a melancholy party, where mixed feelings were evident, and highly contrasted; gratitude for their own escape, being mingled with grief at the loss of so many friends and companions.

Lord Keith presented Captain Brenton with his Post commission, and an order to assume the temporary command of the Genereux at Port Mahon; until Captain Dixon, then employed in the Lion, at the siege of Malta, should be relieved by Lord William Stuart. The Speedy sailed immediately for Minorca, and Captain Brenton took command of the Genereux on the 19th April, 1800; giving up the Speedy to Lord Cochrane, who was in charge of the Genereux, having brought her in after her capture.

The Genereux was lying at the dock yard dismantled, and with every thing taken out of her, guns included. Her crew consisted of two men sent from every ship in the fleet, of course not the best; and two hundred and seventy Maltese; but the latter were invaluable; and by their steadiness and exertion Captain Brenton was enabled to get the ship in readiness for sea, and to join the Admiral off Genoa, in the month of May.

Genoa had been invested by the Austrian army for nearly six months, and so closely blockaded by the

British squadron, that very few vessels could get into it. It was obstinately defended by Massena, but reduced to the greatest extremities, for want of provisions. On the 4th of June it capitulated; but such favourable terms were granted to it, by the Austrian General, that the French were great gainers, by its surrender; as it gave freedom to the army shut up within its walls, and enabled them to contribute greatly to the issue of the battle of Marengo, which occurred ten days afterwards. It has too often been the fate of England to be involved in these short-sighted treaties, by which all the advantage has been forfeited that valour and enterprize had gained.

By the terms of this capitulation British transports were to convey the French troops to Nice, with all their military baggage; and while receiving it on board, a bale, marked military clothing, burst while hoisting in, and displayed some beautiful Genoa velvet. This occasioned an examination of all the packages already on board, and led to the discovery of an immense quantity of similar plunder. Massena was exceedingly angry at this detection, and accused the English of a breach in the terms of the capitulation, although it had been acted upon, up to that moment to the very letter; but the fact was, that it deprived him of much, which he had expected to carry off with impunity.

About 12 o'clock on the 4th of June the squadron entered the harbour of Genoa, and at once fired a royal salute in honour of the birth-day of their sovereign. The scene was truly beautiful; presenting as it did

that superb city, rising above the shores of the bay, and its harbour covered with boats, with splendidly decorated flags, and filled with gaily dressed people of both sexes. These boats thronged round the British ships, and shewed but too plainly the misery that had been endured by the wretched inhabitants. The countenances of the company, ghastly with famine and disease, but ill accorded with their gay, and often rich costume. Many were too feeble to mount the side of the ships; and men as well as women were happy to have the aid of the chair for that purpose. The declared object of the visit was to pay respect to the British flag; but the real one was to obtain food at the earliest possible period. They were gladly received. The cabin, the ward room, and in short every part of the ship was filled by them, and a succession of meals brought upon every table, as one party was succeeded by another. But the most delightful circumstance connected with this day, was to see the British seamen, handing out of the ports, their own rations of provisions to the starving multitude who could not get on board. On their landing, the English officers observed the streets on each side strewed with the dead and dying; and although on the opening of the gates, immediately after the surrender, an abundance of provisions was poured in, it was long before the people again enjoyed the blessings of plenty; disease invariably accompanying famine, and shortening life, when the means of supporting it were restored.

CHAPTER IV.

DISAPPOINTMENT OF PROMOTION. — APPLIES TO LORD ST. VINCENT, AND THROUGH HIM APPOINTED CAPTAIN TO THE CÆSAR, UNDER SIR JAMES SAUMAREZ. — BATTLE AT ALGESIRAS. — EXERTIONS OF CAPTAIN BRENTON IN REFITTING THE CÆSAR, AND SUBSEQUENT VICTORY. — TEMPTING OFFER OF GOING TO ENGLAND WITH DISPATCHES DECLINED. — DEFINITIVE TREATY OF PEACE SIGNED. — SQUADRON AT GIBRALTAR.

ON the 14th of June Captain Brenton being superseded by Captain Dixon, left Genoa in the Culloden for Minorca, on his way to join his ship at Gibraltar, and from Mahon proceeded to Gibraltar in the Mondovi. On his arrival at Gibraltar he had the mortification to find the Souverein had been paid off, in consequence of an altercation between Lord Wm. Stuart and the Commissioner; and he received orders to return to England on half pay. The disappointment was the more severe, as Captain Brenton had been assured by Lord Keith, that the Souverein was to be considered as a stepping stone to Post rank; and that every vacancy in a Post ship was to be filled up from her, consequently that the last made Post Captain would always have that appointment. He was also well aware of the difficulty which existed in England of getting employed from half pay;

that it was only those that were in the stream that were carried along with it; whilst many officers, who had gained their promotion by a succession of gallant achievements, were passing their days in helpless indolence. They had got into the eddy, and had the mortification of seeing those whom they had left far behind, bringing up the breeze, and passing by them.

This was particularly the case with the greater part of the first lieutenants of line of battle-ships, promoted after general actions. They had received the rank of Commander with the delight so natural to the attainment of such a step: but wanting interest to obtain a command, they were soon forgotten; and many had to regret that they had gained their promotion.

Captain Brenton embarked in the Anson from Gibraltar, in July; and in crossing the Bay of Biscay they fell in with the Louisa, armed brig, on her way to join Earl St. Vincent, who had now the command of the channel fleet, and was cruizing off Brest, with his flag in the Royal George. Captain Brenton availed himself of this opportunity of seeing his kind-hearted and noble chief again, to whom he was so truly indebted for relieving him from a situation, in which he felt himself disgraced; and for bringing him on, step by step, to that situation in his profession, from which he could only rise farther by seniority. He accordingly left the Anson, and in a few days after came in sight of the fleet. He was received by Earl St. Vincent with the warmest regard, who not only sincerely congratulated him upon his promotion, of which indeed he had himself been the cause, but thanked him in the most flatter-

ing terms for the conduct which had led to it. He then said, "I will now give you a letter to Lord Spencer, requesting him to give you a ship, and should he not do so immediately, I desire you to join me in Torbay without loss of time. I shall be there in the course of a week, when I shall expect to see you, unless you receive an appointment." He then wrote to Lord Spencer in the strongest terms, recommending Captain Brenton for immediate employment; adverting to the circumstance of his having gained both his Commander's and his Post commission in action with the enemy.

Captain Brenton arrived the following day at Plymouth, and proceeded to London, where he delivered his letter to Lord Spencer. His lordship holding out no hopes of immediate employment, Captain Brenton set out for Portsmouth, with the intention of proceeding to Torbay by the first ship going thither. He accordingly went on board the Prince of Wales, Sir Robert Calder's flag ship; and soon found himself on board the Ville de Paris, with his noble patron. His situation here was of an extraordinary description, and not without some degree of unpleasantness. The officers were, many of them, those who had been his messmates in the same ship, previously to his being made a commander out of her into the Speedy. They considered, and justly, that he had already had his share of promotion; and were apprehensive that his coming back to serve as a volunteer, might interfere with some vacancy to which they might be looking. This was a feeling very naturally to be expected, and for which every

allowance should be made; whilst even as regarded the captain of the fleet, and the captain of the ship, he did not feel quite certain that they might approve a non-descript officer, although in their conduct they shewed only the kindest attention.

With these feelings upon his mind, Captain Brenton walking the deck one morning with the Admiral, said to him, "My lord, I do not like this kind of life; I have no business of my own to do." His lordship answered, "I have been thinking you would not—and it has struck me that I might give you the Joseph cutter, commanded by Lieutenant Lapenotiere; that you might visit the in-shore squadron; and so give you an introduction to Sir James Saumarez, the commodore. You might there amuse yourself by making observations on the French coast; and when tired of your excursion, you may rejoin me either here or off Ushant, or in Torbay as it may be; as I mean to bear up for that place, with the first westerly gale."

Captain Brenton was delighted with the plan, and joyfully accepted it. It was not only agreeable in every point of view at the time, but in the end it led to the most beneficial results, as regarded his professional life, by leading to his appointment as the flag captain of that great and good man, the late Lord de Saumarez. He was received with the utmost kindness by Sir James; and having passed some days in the squadron, landing occasionally upon the islands off Brest; he returned to the Ville de Paris, just as a gale of wind was springing up, and on the following day the fleet anchored in Torbay.

Lord St. Vincent always resided while on shore at Torr Abbey, and having introduced Captain Brenton to Mr. Carey, the hospitable master of the mansion, he became one of the family for some weeks. A great naval promotion being at this time expected, Lord St. Vincent made it a particular request, that Sir James Saumarez should be included in it, and have his flag flying in the Cæsar, as one of the junior admirals in the channel fleet. He at the same time wrote to Sir James, informing him of his having made this application; and requesting, in the event of its being successful, that he would have Captain Brenton appointed as his captain. This Sir James most kindly and readily granted; and on the 1st January, 1800, Captain Brenton received his commission for the Cæsar, and joined her at Spithead a few days after.

In February they proceeded to Torbay, and from thence Sir James resumed his station off Brest. This was a most arduous service in winter time, when the gales from the westward came on so suddenly, and with so much violence, that it was scarcely possible to clear the land. The Black Rocks however lost much of their terrors upon Sir James Saumarez resorting to the anchorage in Douanenez bay, which he did in the preceding November; convinced that the enemy would not dare to attack him there, from the apprehension that the British fleet might come over from the opposite coast, either during or after the attack; in which case the whole of their attacking force, with whatever ships they might have captured, would fall into our hands. It is true it required much nerve to run for the Cul de Sac in a heavy gale, with mortar batteries crossing each other

from the Bec du Rez, and the Bec du Chevre; and with a shoal in the centre of the entrance. The master of the Cæsar however was a very skilful man, and an excellent pilot. He unhesitatingly took the charge, and anchored the squadron in the eastern part of the bay, just without the range of the shells from the batteries, and with only one point of the compass open to the sea. Upon the last occasion the squadron consisted of six sail of the line, and a frigate. The gale lasted three days, and upon its subsiding, Sir James left his anchorage, and resumed his station off the Black Rocks, having his ships and crews refreshed by the repose he had procured them, instead of being crippled and exhausted by being continually exposed to a heavy sea.

In the month of April a cutter joined the fleet, bringing a weekly newspaper of extraordinary importance, in which was included Lord Nelson's destruction of the Danish block ships at Copenhagen, and the landing of the British army in Egypt, with the subsequent victories. The Admiral directed that it should be read to the ship's company, who were accordingly assembled for the purpose, and gave three hearty cheers on hearing the news.

In the latter end of May Sir James was ordered into Plymouth, to take the command of a squadron about to assemble there for a particular service; to the great joy of every officer and man on board the Cæsar, who were heartily tired of the blockade of Brest; and who were elated with the hope, of at length seeing more active service. The squadron assembled in Cawsand bay, consisting of the Cæsar and Pompée of eighty guns,

with the Hannibal, Audacious, and Spencer of seventy-four guns each. They sailed from Plymouth on the 15th of June, and reached Lisbon four days afterwards; and having sent in despatches to the British ambassador, continued their course for Cadiz, where they arrived in the latter end of June. On the 5th of July the first battle of Algesiras took place, as detailed in the following official letter.

London Gazette, August 1st, 1801.

Copy of a letter from Rear Admiral Sir James Saumarez to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board H.M.S. Cæsar, at Gibraltar, 6th July.

"SIR,

"I have to request you will be pleased to inform my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that conformably to my letter of yesterday's date, I stood through the straits, with his Majesty's squadron under my orders, with the intention of attacking three French line of battle ships, and a frigate that I had received information of being at anchor off Algesiras. On opening Cabritta point, I found the ships lay at a considerable distance from the enemy's batteries, and having a leading wind up to them, afforded every reasonable hope of success in the attack. I had previously directed Captain Hood, in the Venerable, from his experience, and knowledge of the anchorage, to lead the squadron, which he executed with his accustomed gallantry; and although it was not intended that he should anchor, he found himself under the necessity so to do, from the wind failing, (a circumstance so much to be apprehended in this country) to which circumstance, I have to regret the want of success, in this well intended enterprize. Captain Stirling anchored opposite to the inner ship of the enemy, and brought the Pompée to action, in the most spirited and gallant manner, which was followed by the commanders of every ship in the squadron. Captains Darby and Ferris, owing to light winds

were prevented, for a considerable time from coming into action; at length, the Hannibal getting a breeze, Captain Ferris had the most favourable prospect of being alongside one of the enemy's ships, when the Hannibal unfortunately took the ground, and I am extremely concerned to acquaint their Lordships, that, after having made every possible effort, with this ship and the Audacious, to cover her from the enemy, I was under the necessity to make sail, being at the time only three cables length from one of the enemy's batteries.

"My thanks are particularly due to all the captains, officers, and men under my orders; and although their endeavours have not been crowned with success, I trust the thousands of spectators from his Majesty's garrison, and also the surrounding coast, will do justice to their valour and intrepidity, which were not to be checked from the numerous batteries (however formidable) that surround Algesiras.

"I feel it incumbent on me to state to their Lordships the great merits of Captain Brenton of the Cæsar, whose cool judgment, and intrepid conduct, I will venture to pronounce were never surpassed. I also beg leave to recommend to their Lordships' notice, my flag lieutenant, Mr. Phillip Dumaresq, who has served with me from the commencement of this war, and is a most deserving officer; Mr. Lansborne, and the other lieutenants, are also entitled to great praise; as well as Captain Maxwell, of the marines, and the officers of his corps, serving on board the Cæsar.

The enemy's ships consisted of two of eighty-four guns, and one of seventy-four, with a large frigate; two of the former are aground, and the whole are rendered totally unserviceable. I cannot close this letter without rendering the most ample justice to the great bravery of Captain Ferris. The loss in his ship must have been very considerable, both in officers and men; but I have the satisfaction to be informed that his Majesty has not lost so valuable an officer.

"I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

"JAMES SAUMAREZ.

"P.S. The Honourable Captain Dundas, of his Majesty's

Polacre the Calpe, made his vessel as useful as possible, and kept up a spirited fire on one of the enemy's batteries; I have also to express my approbation of Lieutenant Janverin, commander of the gun boats, who having joined me with intelligence, served as a volunteer on board the Cæsar."

The manner in which the interval between this action and that which succeeded it within a week's distance, was passed, must be described by the subject of this Memoir himself. He says, "On the Cæsar anchoring at Gibraltar after this disastrous affair, the Admiral sent me on shore, to communicate with the Governor, (General O'Hara), who expressed much regret at the fate of the day, but was truly sensible of the efforts that had been made to ensure success.

"Before my return on board, the Admiral had retired to his cot, and in a state of mind which may be easily conceived by those to whom his character was known; so sensitive, and at the same time so devoted, to his country. He felt most keenly the apprehension that the important service, for which he had been despatched from England, might be frustrated by the unfortunate, and totally unexpected termination of the attack. On the following morning, he sent me with a flag of truce to the French Admiral at Algesiras, who on my boat coming within range of his guns, threw a shot over us. I immediately laid upon my oars, as a boat with a corresponding flag of truce was seen pulling towards me. On coming within hail, the French officer demanded what was the object of my mission; but I declined delivering it to any but Admiral Linois himself. I was then requested to wait until the officer

could obtain further orders. He soon returned with directions for the Cæsar's boat to follow to the Formidable, the French flag ship. Here I was received by a guard, forming a double line from the gangway to the cabin door; and when in the cabin, I was enclosed in a circle of officers, in the centre of which stood the Admiral. I then delivered my message from the British Admiral; which was, that an exchange of prisoners might immediately take place, which M. Linois declined; on the ground of requiring authority for such a measure from the Minister of marine, at Paris. I then requested that the officers of the Hannibal should be sent over on parole, which was acceded to; and I withdrew; the French Admiral conducting me to the gangway, in the same manner as I had entered the ship; begging that I would request the Admiral, that on any further communication he might have to make to him, it should not be by an officer of rank, but by a 'petit midshipman.' It was evident that M. Linois was unwilling that the crippled state of his ship should be too minutely observed; and hence the arrangement of the guard and officers, which effectually screened the internal state of the ship from observation; but I was amply indemnified by seeing the outward damages, which could not be concealed.

"On my return the Cæsar had warped into the Mole, and was proceeding to strike the masts. Both mainmast and foremast had been severely wounded, the former so much so, as to be unfit for service; and the foremast required extensive fishing. All the wounded were sent to the hospital; and the killed in the squadron sent on shore for burial. The funeral of the officers—the mas-

ters of the Cæsar and Pompée, and a midshipman of the latter, who were buried with the honours of war, formed a most imposing and affecting spectacle, from the great number of troops drawn out upon the occasion, and from the whole population of the rock being spectators."

On the 9th day of July, three days after the battle of Algesiras, the Superb, and Thames, were seen under a crowd of sail, steering through the straits of Gibraltar; and soon after the Spanish squadron of six sail of the line, was observed in pursuit of them. The British ships anchored in Gibraltar bay, and the enemy hauled their wind for Algesiras, where they anchored with the French squadron, evidently with a view of conveying them round to Cadiz. Sir James Saumarez convinced that such was the intention, at once decided upon attacking them with four ships, as it was considered utterly impossible for either the Pompée or Cæsar to be in readiness. He sent for Captain Brenton into his cabin, and informing him of the resolution he had come to, directed that his flag should forthwith be shifted into the Audacious, and that the crews of the Cæsar and Pompée should be distributed amongst the other ships. Captain Brenton acknowledged the expediency of the flag being shifted, and the probability that the Cæsar would not be refitted in time to receive it again, before the enemy left Algesiras; but requested the Admiral to permit him to make the effort, by keeping his people on board, until the enemy were seen to be getting under sail, to which Sir James consented.

Captain Brenton turning the hands up, informed the

crew of the Admiral's intention, and called upon them to use every exertion to put their ship in a state to bear their Admiral's flag again into battle, should the enemy give them an opportunity. An universal cry was heard of all hands, "All night and all day." This however Captain Brenton would not permit; but he employed the whole ship's company, from four in the morning until eight in the evening; of the remaining eight hours, each watch was alternately allowed four of repose. He alone slept not, for his active mind, and ardent disposition, were wound up to the highest pitch of excitement; and he has been heard himself to describe, the overwhelming sense of sleep and weariness, by which he was overcome, when these exertions were happily terminated.

By the most strenuous efforts of every individual concerned, on the morning of the 12th the new mainmast had been got in and rigged, and the other damages in some measure repaired. We extract a few more particulars from Captain Brenton's note, "A great, though not a visible progress," he says, "was soon made; indeed the latter circumstance was avoided as much as possible, in order to prevent the enemy supposing that any attack was intended. The following day was an arduous one, and on Saturday the 11th, so much appeared yet to be done, that the Admiral, who had never been very sanguine in the hope of having the Cæsar ready, again urged me to send the people away, lest they should suffer so much from fatigue, that they might become unfit for the exertions, they would be called upon to make, in the action about to take place. He added, "you now have done all in your power;

you must make up your mind to the disappointment." I replied, "you are now going on shore to dine at the Governor's; excuse my attending you, and if, when you return on board in the evening, the ship is not ready, I promise to have the people all ready for distribution, when you give the orders." To this the Admiral consented, and went on shore. It became now necessary rather to shew progress, than to conceal it; the top gallant yards were accordingly got up, and the yards crossed, and sails bent, before the different parts of the rigging were in the order necessary for getting under weigh. The Admiral on his return was delighted at what he saw, and relinquished all idea of removing into the Audacious.

The enemy at the same time were in movement in Algesiras bay. By two o'clock p.m. the Cæsar warped out of the Mole, and was at the same time employed in bending sails, setting up rigging, filling powder, receiving stores of every description from boats alongside, and preparing for battle; the band on the poop playing, "Cheer up my lads," which was answered by a regimental band on the Mole, with "Britons, strike home." The animation of this scene cannot be described, but the recollection of it must have continued vivid in the breast of the chief mover of these heroic exertions. The scene no doubt was peculiar, and the impressions left by it can be more easily conceived than described, when the two squadrons, occupying their respective sides of a small bay, separated from each other by a distance of only four miles, were mutually engaged in preparations for combat. Thousands

of spectators, occupied the surrounding hills and shores; the sea was covered with the numerous boats employed by the ships of war. And the general excitement which every where reigned, can only be imagined; as well as the feelings of Captain Brenton, when he made the signal of being ready for service, and again received the flag of his respected and gallant Admiral.

It was almost one of the latest efforts of Captain Brenton's pencil to recall the triumphant moment of the Cæsar warping out of the Mole, under the circumstances which have been described. He has often expressed the powerful excitement, which even the recollection of this period occasioned; and he never could give the narrative, even to the latest period of his life, without the most thrilling sensation. The particulars of the action will be found in the following official dispatch, and the results which followed these exertions must be given in the language of the letter in which Sir James Saumarez communicated his victory.

"CÆSAR, OFF CAPE TRAFALGAR, JULY 13, 1801.

"SIR,

"It has pleased the Almighty to crown the exertions of this squadron, with the most decisive success over the enemies of their country. The three French line of battle ships, disabled in the action of the 6th instant, off Algesiras, were on the 8th reinforced by a squadron of five Spanish line of battle ships, under the command of Don Juan Joaquin de Marino, and a French ship of seventy-four guns, bearing a broad pendant, besides three frigates, and an incredible number of gun boats, and other vessels, and got

under sail yesterday morning, together with his Majesty's ship Hannibal, which they had succeeded in getting off the shoal on which she struck. I almost despaired of having a sufficient force in readiness to oppose such numbers, but through the great exertions of Captain Brenton, the officers, and men belonging to the Cæsar, the ship was in readiness to warp out of the Mole yesterday morning, and got under weigh immediately after with all the squadron, except the Pompèe, which ship had not time to get in her masts.

"Confiding in the zeal and intrepidity of the officers and the men I had the happiness to serve with, I determined, if possible, to obstruct the passage of this very powerful force to Cadiz. Late in the evening I observed the enemy's ships to have cleared Cabritta point; and at eight I bore up with the squadron, to stand after them; his Majesty's ship, Superb, being stationed ahead of the Cæsar. I directed Captain Keats to make sail, and attack the sternmost ships in the enemy's rear, using his endeavours to keep in shore of them. At eleven the Superb opened her fire close to the enemy's ships; and on the Cæsar coming up, and preparing to engage a three decker, that had hauled her wind, she was perceived to have taken fire, and the flames having communicated to a ship to leeward of her, both were seen in a blaze, and presented a most awful sight. No possibility existing of offering the least assistance in so distressing a situation; the Cæsar passed to close with the ship engaged by the Superb, but by the cool and determined fire kept upon her, which must ever reflect the highest credit on that ship, the enemy's ship was completely silenced, and soon after hauled down her colours.

"The Venerable and Spencer having at this time come up, I bore up after the enemy, who were carrying a press of sail, standing out of the straits, and lost sight of them during the night. It blew excessively hard until daylight; and in the morning the only ships in company were the Venerable and Thames, ahead of the Cæsar, and one of the French ships at some distance from them, standing towards the shoal of Conil, besides the Spencer astern, coming up.

"All the ships immediately made sail, with a fresh breeze; but

as we approached, the wind suddenly failing, the Venerable was alone able to bring her into action, which Captain Hood did in the most gallant manner, and had nearly silenced the French ship when his mainmast (which had been before wounded) was unfortunately shot away, and it coming nearly calm, the enemy's ship was enabled to get off, without any possibility of following her.

"The highest praise is due to Captain Hood, the officers, and men of the Venerable, for their spirit and gallantry in the action, which entitled them to better success. The French ship was an eighty-four, with additional guns on the gunwale.

"This action was so near the shore that the Venerable struck on one of the shoals, but was soon after got off, and taken in tow by the Thames, but with the loss of her masts. The enemy's ships are now in sight, to the westward, standing in for Cadiz. The Superb and Audacious, with the captured ship, are also in sight, with the Carlotta, Portuguese frigate, commanded by Captain Crawford Duncan, who very handsomely came out with the squadron, and has been of the greatest assistance to Captain Keats, in staying by the enemy's ship, captured by the Superb.

"I am proceeding with the squadron for Rosier bay, and shall proceed the moment the ships are refitted, to resume my station. No praises that I can bestow are adequate to the merits of the officers and ships' companies of all the squadron; particularly for their unremitted exertions in refitting the ships at Gibraltar, to which, in a great degree, is to be ascribed the success of the squadron against the enemy.

"Although the Spencer and Audacious had not the good fortune to partake of this action, I have no doubt of their exertions, had they come up in time, to close with the enemy's ships. My thanks are also due to Captain Holles, of the Thames, and to the Honourable Captain Dundas, of the Calpe, whose assistance was particularly useful to Captain Keats, in securing the enemy's ship, and enabling the Superb to stand after the squadron, in case of being able to renew the action.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

"J. SAUMAREZ.

"EVAN NEPEAN, ESQ."

The following circumstances not being mentioned in the official dispatch are taken from Captain Brenton's notes. "At eight o'clock the Venerable made the signal for being on a shoal, and her foremast was seen to go over her side. Sir James ordered me to proceed to her in my gig; and to give directions to Captain Hood, not to run any risk of losing his men, but to abandon the ship, and burn her if necessary; as the whole remaining ships of the enemy were approaching from the westward, whilst the Superb, Spencer, and Audacious were still at a considerable distance to the southward. The Thames frigate was at the same time ordered to close with the Venerable, to be in readiness to receive her men. As I approached, her mizen mast fell, and she was still striking hard upon the shoal, completely dismasted. On reaching the quarter deck, I found Captain Hood sitting upon a gun, surrounded by his little midshipmen, who were looking earnestly at the gallant Captain, with a view of ascertaining how he would act in the extremity in which he was placed. Having heard my message, he said, 'I hope the Venerable is not so far gone yet, but we may save her; but tell the Admiral to let the Thames stay by me, and I will take care she does not get into the enemy's hands.' The Venerable was got off by the great exertions of Captain Hood."

Captain Brenton again speaks for himself, he says, "The Admiral informed me that it was his intention to commit the dispatches of this glorious victory to my charge, to be conveyed to England, and directed me to prepare for my immediate departure; but I was im-

pressed with a very strong expectation, that the struggle was not yet over, but that Gantheaume might be hourly expected through the straits, and consequently that another action might ensue. I therefore resisted the temptation, which this most flattering mission held out to me, and requested that I might be permitted to remain in charge of my ship. The Admiral in consequence sent home his flag lieutenant with the account of the action, and the squadron proceeded to Gibraltar to repair their damages, and to be again in readiness for an action which few doubted would take place." The whole merit, and self denial, and patriotism of this decision, can only be made evident when the fact is stated, that the object of Captain Brenton's early and constant affections, was at this precise time expected in England with her brother. It is a singular circumstance that the first news Miss Stewart heard upon her arrival in England related to the battles of Algesiras.

Captain Brenton's memoirs referring to this period, continues to be full of interesting details. "The rock of Gibraltar had as picturesque an appearance on the return of the little squadron, as it shewed on the day of their departure. Every battery, or pinnacle of rock, which overhung the bay, was crowded with spectators, all cheering and waving hats and handkerchiefs. The acclamations mingled with a royal salute from the batteries (congratulatory to majesty) re-echoed over the bay, and the Admiral's landing was most triumphant. He was received, as was most justly his due, in the

most distinguished, I may add, the most affectionate manner. All who had witnessed his gallantry and devoted conduct in the preceding week, and felt for his misfortune, now sincerely rejoiced in the change. They considered that defeat had never existed; but that the action began on the 6th, and had been kept up, with inexhaustible energy through the week, terminating on the 13th with complete success. The ships were soon refitted, as none but the Venerable had received much damage.

"On visiting the hospital on my tour of duty a few days after the battle, I observed a poor fellow, belonging to the Audacious, who had lost both his arms, above the elbow. He was quite cheerful, and evidently rapidly recovering. I asked what were his wishes for the future; whether to be sent to Greenwich Hospital, or to have a pension for life, in the place of his nativity. He replied, 'I hope, your honour, it is not so bad with me yet; I know the cook of the ——; he has lost both his arms; but there is not a handier fellow in the fleet.'

"On the day on which the Cæsar left the Mole, as I have mentioned, for the purpose of attacking the combined squadron, and while lying to, off Europa point; a small boat was seen, with two men in white dresses, pulling off to the ship; and on coming alongside they proved to be two of the Cæsar's crew, who had been wounded at Algesiras, and sent to the hospital. Having applied to the surgeon for permission to return on board; and being refused on account of their wounds being still under cure, they actually ran away in their

hospital garb, and finding a boat on the beach, took possession, and pulled off to join their Commander."

When a ship's company was actuated by such a spirit, it was hardly possible to doubt of the success that would attend them; but it may be well to bear in mind, that the spirit which secured this victory was formed previous to the crisis in which it was needed, and the hour of action in which it was exhibited; and that attachment to the individuals by whom they were led, and confidence in their commanders, added this extraordinary character of vigor to the natural energy and courage of the men.

Officers who would wish to have around them, in the day of action, or in the hour of great exertions, a crew like that of the Cæsar, must be known among their people as Sir James De Saumarez and Captain Brenton were; must secure affection by shewing it, and by kindness and attention must win the hearts of those who are to be the means of their success, or the instruments of their preservation.

In the latter end of August Sir James Saumarez resumed the blockade of Cadiz, but was soon after superseded in his command by Vice Admiral Sir Charles Pole, to whom he became second in command. Thus he remained until the news arrived of the definitive treaty of peace having been signed; when Sir Charles returned to England; and the squadron again under Sir James Saumarez took up their anchorage for the winter at Gibraltar. They had frequent intercourse with the Spaniards at this time,

and Captain Brenton took an early opportunity of enquiring after his gallant antagonist, Captain Suadeville, who commanded the gun boats in their attack upon the Speedy, in November, 1799, which, if his conduct had been as faithfully supported by others as it shewed enterprize on his part, might have been attended with other results. The Governor sent for him, and a cordial meeting was the consequence.

CHAPTER V.

RETURNS TO ENGLAND. — RECOLLECTIONS OF THE CÆSAR AND THE CHAPLAIN. — MARRIED TO MISS STEWART. — REFLECTIONS ON THIS EVENT, MADE AFTER HER DEATH. — HOSTILITIES RECOMMENCED IN 1801, AND APPOINTED TO THE COMMAND OF THE MINERVE. — DANGEROUS ACCIDENT AND INJURY DURING THE FITTING OUT THE FRIGATE. — SAILS FOR THE COAST OF FRANCE. — THE SHIP STRIKES OFF CHERBOURG, AND AFTER A GALLANT DEFENCE IS SURRENDERED, JULY 3.

EARLY in February Captain Brenton received an account of his father's death; and as peace had now taken place, he was urged to return to England at the earliest opportunity. This, however, was a measure which he could not reconcile himself to, until the definitive treaty had been signed, or a general recall of the squadron had taken place. In the beginning of March, orders arrived from England that a part of the squadron, left under the command of Sir James Saumarez, should be sent immediately to the West Indies, to watch the motions of a detachment of French ships of the line, about to proceed to that part of the world, with the expressed intention of recovering the island of St. Domingo from the empire of the blacks. But under such a ruler as Buonaparte, the French were not to be trusted with a very large force, in the immediate vicinity of some of our richest possessions.

On the first arrival of the news of the preliminary treaty being signed, the crews of the squadron off Cadiz testified the most extraordinary manifestations of joy and delight. They flew to the rigging and cheered loudly; many of them actually throwing their hats up in the air, to the almost certainty of losing them, and even kicking their shoes overboard: this was particularly the case in the St. George.

But when the order was given out for the detachment to proceed from Gibraltar to the West Indies, a general murmur of disappointment and discontent was heard throughout the ships selected; and the crews of some actually refused to weigh the anchor. The Admiral with his Captain went on board these ships; and it was only by his authority, backed by the steadiness of the faithful marines, that the men could be induced to return to their duty. Captain Brenton says, "This ill humour shewed itself in other ships, and the cables were hove in with a very snail-like movement, until all at once a French squadron of several sail of the line appeared off Europa point under a crowd of sail, on their way from Toulon to St. Domingo. No arguments were then needed. The capstans flew round like lightning; all was alacrity and energy, and the British sailor was himself again. Every ship was under weigh, and every sail spread, before the French could get far off; and they proceeded in company to the West Indies. There are fine traits in the character of the true British seamen. They never fail in the time of need. Give them your confidence, and depend upon them. Steadiness and consistency of discipline will always control them.

Irritated as they had been by the severity of their disappointment, they now saw that there was a reason sufficient for it, and obeyed with alacrity; and I have no doubt they secretly regretted the pain they had given the Admiral, for want of knowing what, he could not, consistently with his duty, communicate to them."

In the middle of March, definitive arrangements having been made for the reduction of the squadron, Captain Brenton, anxious to return to England, requested Sir James Saumarez to permit him to exchange with Captain Downman into the Santa Dorothea frigate, then under orders for England. The Admiral having consented, the Captain quitted the Cæsar, but not without great regret, from having enjoyed so much happiness in her, and seen so much brilliant service under his warm friend, his kind-hearted and gallant Admiral.

"Perhaps no ship in the British navy had ever enjoyed more comfort and harmony than the Cæsar; and much of this was undoubtedly owing to the conduct of the Chaplain, the Reverend Evan Holiday, who was indefatigable in every part of his duty. And as it is important to shew, how far benefit may arise to a ship's company from the Chaplain's influence, independent of the weekly instruction, to which he is bound by the articles of war on the Sabbath, it may not be amiss to describe Mr. H.'s system. In the first place his conduct was so correct, and so accordant with his sacred functions, in his intercourse with his messmates, that the same guarded and decorous manners, were preserved by them, whilst he was present in the ward-room, as though a lady

had been present; and that alone was a great point where so many young and high-spirited men were collected together, in all the thoughtlessness and buoyancy of early life; whilst at the same time he never assumed authority, or discouraged innocent mirth; and on the contrary, was upon the kindest and most intimate terms with all. His public duties were most carefully and religiously performed. It was thought, and perhaps correctly, that his preaching was too exclusively moral; but it was according to the light he had acquired; and was most conscienciously given, as the best instruction he had to impart. His sermons were generally, it might almost be said always, applicable to existing circumstances, and had reference to some event, or some person, which it seemed expedient to advert to. He was most successful also in preventing the infliction of punishment, as well as in preventing the crimes which called for it. No sooner was a man put into the master at arms list as a culprit, than Mr. H. was in communication with him; got at his character, his motives, and the circumstances which had led him to commit the fault. It thus often happened, that he found out such favourable points, as enabled him to recommend the culprit to mercy, and to induce the Captain to pardon him, on such recommendation coming from such a quarter; when otherwise he could not have done it without wounding the feelings of the officer, who had made the complaint; and doing injury to the discipline of the ship. One very remarkable instance of the success of this benevolent exercise of his duty may be named as an exhibition of his general practice. One

of the seamen of the Cæsar, who had been on shore on liberty at Gibraltar, was brought off under a military guard, charged with robbing his messmate in the guard house, whilst lying asleep there in the course of the preceding night. Captain Brenton knowing the man accused, to be one of the most correct characters in the ship, as well as one of the best seamen, was greatly surprised at the charge; and expressed his astonishment to the man himself, that he, of all others, should be so inculpated. The man strenuously denied being guilty, but the evidence against him was so clear and so consistent that it was not possible to disregard it. Addressing the prisoner therefore he said, "Lewis, I cannot think you guilty, nor will I take it upon my own responsibility to act upon so awful an occasion: think well upon what has passed, for if you adhere to the protestation of your innocence, I must write for a court martial to be held upon you." The accused replied, in the most respectful manner, "Sir, I never can acknowledge being guilty of a crime, of which you may well suppose me incapable; but as I have no witness to bring forward in my own behalf, and that of the soldiers is so strong, and so positive against me, I fear I must be condemned by a court martial; and therefore I request you will cause me to be punished on board my own ship; as I feel convinced my punishment will then be less severe, than what would be awarded by a court martial." The Captain replied, that he would never take upon himself the risk of punishing an innocent man, and again urged his confession of guilt; and then consigning him to an arrest wrote the letter; and before presenting it to the Admi-

ral, shewed it to the accused, who however persisted in maintaining the charge to be false. The chaplain who had attended this examination, requested to speak to the captain in private; when he said, "Sir, there is something so very extraordinary in this affair, particularly as it involves such a man as Lewis, that I take the liberty of requesting that you will withhold the letter for the court martial, until I can investigate the affair; and if you will allow me, I will immediately go on shore for the purpose." He accordingly went, and came off the following day in triumph, having detected a most abominable combination, amongst some of the soldiers of the guard, by whom the charge had been fabricated, and who had themselves robbed the sleeping sailor. This was clearly proved to the entire satisfaction of the officers of the regiment. The real culprits were punished, and poor Lewis resumed the high character he had formerly borne, to the great joy of every one in the ship, and to none more than to Mr. Holiday. Much has a really religious active minded chaplain in his power.

The Editor cannot but be reminded at this period in the memoir, of frequent conversations which passed on the subject; and of the manner in which the effects of Mr. Holiday's ministrations were appreciated by the captain of the Cæsar. It appeared as if the Chaplain in that ship exercised a kind of moral influence, which formed by itself no inefficient system of discipline; and certainly gave to the real and proper discipline a correctness and precision which can be seldom attained. The moral character of each delinquent was known, the

degree in which it might be safe to remit punishment was understood beforehand; and it was seldom allowed to fall where any nobler principles existed, on which it might be possible to work through other means. The benefit of the system pursued was still more distinctly seen when the state of things was altered. Mr. Holiday was succeeded by a man of a different character, by one, who satisfied himself with the performance of duties which were absolutely required, and aimed at nothing more. The change was soon perceptible in the way in which discipline was maintained; and both officers and crew felt the difference arising from the new chaplain's conduct. Hints were given, advice was tendered, but nothing produced any effect; and the Chaplain contented with the formal discharge of his Sunday's duties, took no interest in the moral condition of the men, and as he knew nothing about their state, was never able to advocate their cause effectually or to befriend them.

On his leaving the ship, Captain Brenton entered into a long and faithful exposition of the deficiences in his conduct, and pointed out the consequences which had ensued from the negligent mode in which he had fulfilled his office. He stated to him again the course that had been pursued by Mr. Holiday; and added his conviction, that three-fourths of the punishments inflicted during the term of his chaplainship might have been avoided, had the same paternal practice been maintained.

In the month of March Captain Brenton exchanged with Captain Downman into the Santa Dorothea, and

proceeded in that ship to England. The definitive treaty having been signed, she was paid off upon her arrival, and Captain Brenton was soon after married to the object of his early and constant affections, Miss Isabella Stewart, daughter of Anthony Stewart, Esq. of Maryland in Virginia, and sister to the Solicitor-General of Nova Scotia, who, with his family was at this time in England. Of the happiness of this union, the pen of the bereaved husband has left the most affectionate testimony in the records which have been before mentioned, and which he began to arrange after the death of his wife, which took place in the year 1817.

It may perhaps be permitted to the Editor to mention here the occasion which led to the commencement of these records, as it is from them the principal materials of the present memoir has been drawn. Sir Jahleel Brenton had found amongst the papers of his departed wife, notes and memoranda written on particular occasions, which he felt a melancholy pleasure in transcribing for the benefit of his surviving children. Death had deprived him, by a most sudden and unexpected stroke of his eldest son, within a very short time of the death of his wife. Neither mother nor son were permitted to mourn for each other; and the sorrowing widower and father was comforted by this thought, as will appear from many of his reflections at the time. In alluding to the memoranda and papers he had been copying, he says, "The employment of transcribing and collecting them into one series, is to me, not only a source of comfort and consolation, but of

happiness. It appears to prolong to me the blessing of her dear society; and I humbly trust it will excite me to follow her delightful example; and to offer up my most sincere and fervent gratitude for all the blessings which have been so bountifully bestowed upon me in this world; above all, for that greatest of earthly blessings, a virtuous and affectionate wife, who was not only a source of happiness to me, whilst I was permitted to possess her; but whose bright example, and endearing counsels, have been, by the mercy of God, instrumental in enabling me to elevate my soul to that blessed hope of eternal life, which He has given us in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; the sum of all blessings and of all mercies. It is now a source of indescribable comfort to me, that I have never been insensible of her value; nor have I neglected for many years, night and morning, to offer up my sincere thanks to Almighty God, for having blessed me with such a companion.

"When I first began to arrange these dear affecting notes, my intention was only to copy them, according to their dates, and without comment, leaving intervals between them, for such further fragments as I might have the happiness of finding. This I accordingly did; but after searching every place for papers, very few were to be found, so few indeed as to occupy a very small portion of the space which had been reserved for them. I then thought of filling up these spaces from recollection, with a relation of such circumstances in our eventful lives, as must be inexpressibly dear to our beloved children, when both their parents shall have long quitted this stage; and how many a proof of

recorded love instantly suggests itself to my remembrance. I only regret that this idea did not sooner occur to me, that I might have begun at the very earliest period of our acquaintance. This I may yet be enabled to do, should I be spared long enough. I shall, however, in the first place, endeavour to fulfil my original intention of merely connecting the dear journals; and of thus shewing you, my dear children, how sincere, how tender, how increasing was the affection, which united your parents; how earnestly they had devoted themselves to the happiness and welfare of those, for whom all their solicitude was excited, both as to their temporal and eternal welfare.

"I know that it had been, for many years previous to our marriage, the practice of my beloved Isabella, to commit from time to time her reflections to writing; but I have not been able to discover any of an earlier date than that which begins this collection, You will, I am certain, my darling children, be deeply impressed with the strain of fervent gratitude, and humble trust in a continuance of the goodness of God, which pervades it. It will I hope elevate your hearts to those principles also, from which your inestimable mother derived her comfort and support in all her trials."

Towards the conclusion of these records we find the original intention carried out. In the sketch of his first acquaintance with Miss Stewart, he says, "In reviewing the events of my past life, I have long felt a deep sense, and I hope a sincere gratitude, for the innumerable blessings, which a most kind, bounteous, and merciful Creator has so constantly showered down upon me;

but there is none in this countless catalogue, which appears to call so loudly for every effort by which I can shew the sense of them, as the inestimable treasure which he graciously vouchsafed to me in my beloved wife.

"The parents of your inestimable mother had long been settled in America, and she was born at Annapolis in Maryland, the 22nd of February, 1771, (on which day I was exactly six months old, being born the 22nd of August, 1770). There was a considerable analogy in the fortunes of our early days; her father as well as mine having lost the greater part of his property in the American war, in consequence of his attachment and loyalty to his sovereign, and being obliged to take refuge under the protection of the British arms. Mr. Stewart went with a part of his family to Nova Scotia. He had then recently lost a most amiable and affectionate wife; one, whom your angelic mother was thought greatly to resemble in person and mind. She accompanied her father, and was indeed the solace of his sufferings (he had for some time been deprived of the use of one side by a paralytic stroke). At the same time she was the delight of all who knew her, from the peculiar sweetness of her disposition, and the animated expression of her countenance; which though by no means composed of what the world considers fine features, had in it 'something than beauty dearer,' indeed it was indescribably so.

"In the year 1787 I embarked on board the Dido as a midshipman; and early in the following year went out in her to Halifax; an event that I shall ever consider

the most providential in my life, as it has had so strong and so material an influence upon every succeeding part of it. I then became acquainted with your inestimable mother. She had just completed her seventeenth year, and I was still in my eighteenth. I felt from the first day of our meeting a delight in her society, and a wish to be in the constant enjoyment of it, to a degree which was quite unusual with me. Our situations in life were too distant from each other for me to form any hope of gaining her affections. Young women take their place in society, so early in life, in comparison with what is customary with the other sex, that I saw her placed in a situation far above mine. She was already in the best society the place could afford; whilst I was beginning the world, in the humble though honourable station of a midshipman. She might have been justified in looking forward to an alliance with the highest individual in the colony; whilst I had still a long servitude to perform, and a very remote prospect of ever being able to gain that rank in my profession, which could authorize me to look up to the possession of her; even were it possible for me to gain an interest in her heart. That I did love her is most certain; but (I thought) it was a love arising from gratitude. I was naturally shy and diffident in society. She seemed to pity me, and to endeavour by every act of kind attention to give me comfort, and to promote my happiness. That I did frequently indulge visionary schemes of future felicity, in which she always occupied the front ground, is very true; but they were views which I thought it impossible ever to be realized. She was

however, even at that early period, constantly associated with every prospect that presented itself, as I looked forward to success in my profession; and so powerful was the attraction which her sweetness of disposition, and engaging kindness had over me, that although in the midst of kind relations, I sought her house in preference to all others, and passed every hour I could get on shore, either there, or where I knew she was to be found. In the course of the next year, we were separated by my going to Quebec with my ship; and on my return to Halifax in the autumn I found, to my great disappointment, that Mr. Stewart had taken his family back to Maryland. This prevented my feeling any regret from my father's recalling me from the station; which he did shortly after, in order to have me in a ship where I could be rated midshipman; no vacancy having occurred in the Dido. I carried home with me a sincere, a tender, and an indelible recollection of the happiness I had enjoyed in the society of my inestimable friend; an impression that no future event, changes, or circumstances could ever efface or weaken; although for many years I dared not indulge a hope of her ever becoming mine. Indeed I considered it almost impossible, that with such a mind as she possessed—so cherished as she was by all, who had the happiness of knowing her, that she could long remain single; and when I had attained to manhood, and had established in my mind the firm conviction, that this beloved and amiable creature was of all others the most likely to ensure my happiness; I did not allow myself to make an effort to obtain her affections, lest I might never

have it in my power to place her in such a situation as might be worthy of her; and lest it might prevent her acceptance of the offer of some person more capable of making her happy, than myself.

"During the course of eleven years from this period of our separation, in all the varieties of service, situation, and society, in which I was placed, these sentiments never quitted me. It was not until I rose to the rank of Commander, that I thought myself justified in looking to her, as the object of my ambition. I had, during the course of this time, in a correspondence with my dear cousin, made our mutual friend the subject of the greater part of our letters; but with little hope or prospect that my wishes could ever be realized. My beloved Isabella however became acquainted, by means of these, with the steadiness of my attachment to her; and it produced, as may be imagined, a reciprocal affection.

"After having been more than a year in the command of the Speedy, and during that period having had the happiness to obtain, in several instances, the approbation of my Commander in chief, my prospects in the navy seemed so flattering, that although I had not been successful in a pecuniary point of view, I felt myself justified in endeavouring to excite an interest in the affections of her, who had so long possessed mine; and wrote to her accordingly. But after writing the letter, in order firmly to establish in my own mind, that I was acting from the deliberate conviction that I was in search of real happiness; that I was not carried away by such visionary schemes of felicity, as too often haunt the

imagination of those, who from the nature of their profession, are debarred from general society; I kept the letter by me. I had given my father a promise that I would never marry until I had attained the rank of Post Captain, when I knew I should have his perfect consent and approbation with regard to the object I had in view. I was therefore resolved not to take so important a step, until I should feel perfectly justisfied in doing so. I frequently read over the letter, and found that my sentiments, instead of experiencing the slightest or the most momentary change, were daily strengthened; that no alteration was made either by increase of rank, which I soon after met with; by professional success, which was the cause of it; or by my more intimate acquaintance with the higher classes of society, to which, through the friendship and kindness of my excellent friend and patron, Lord St. Vincent, I was soon after introduced. On the contrary, the rank and honours acquired an additional value from the hope that they would be acceptable to my beloved Isabella; whilst her sweetness of disposition, and consistency of character, constantly rose in my estimation, by contrasting them with what I met with; however superior many of her sex might have been in beauty of person, and in the advantages of rank and fortune.

"Upon my arrival in England, in September, 1800, having been made Post in the preceding month of February; I dispatched the letter; and remained in anxious expectation of the result for some weeks. At length the answer arrived; and delightful as the contents were to me, in assuring me that I had long been the object

of her affections, the ideas of happiness which it excited in my mind, were not to be compared to the real felicity which I subsequently enjoyed, during the whole course of our union. At length, after a separation of fourteen years, I met your beloved mother, and found her all that my most sanguine imagination had painted."

It is hardly necessary for the Editor to dwell on the exquisite delicacy and self command exhibited in this touching and simple narrative of an affection as romantic as it is reasonable. He would merely say, that if ever the intrusion on private memorials is justifiable, it is when features of character such as these, so peculiar and yet so beautiful, are to be brought to light. In other cases, where the gratification of curiosity is the chief end to be answered, doubts may be felt whether the advantage gained is any compensation for the breach of confidence that has been committed. But in this, it seems due to the subject of the memoir to shew to the world what was not seen by the world; and to exhibit the real value of his services by stating the sacrifices they cost him. It is also due to those who may be benefited by his example, to let them see the power which may be given to principle, when principle is founded on religion; and the degree in which the tenderness of affection may be combined with firmness, when the whole mind is brought under the influence of the gospel.

The following extract from the pen of Mrs. Brenton, seems important as illustrative of the domestic character of the husband, as well as the wife. It is dated, Greenwich, January 1st, 1801. "To Thee, Almighty God, I return my most hearty and humble thanks, for the

blessings I have, through Thy divine mercy, been permitted to enjoy during the past year, and also for the prospect of happiness on my entrance into the coming one. Grant, I beseech Thee, that I may so conduct myself as to merit a continuance of Thy goodness; and that as a wife and mother I may render myself worthy of Thy protection; and in the performance of my duty as a Christian, become more deserving of Thy divine favour, through the mediation of our blessed Saviour, Jesus Christ."

The above prayer is inserted, not as being a model of what prayer should be, for in that respect the discernment of a religious mind will see its deficiency; but rather because it is considered valuable as exhibiting the mild, gentle, and affectionate spirit from which it proceeded, and as filling up the portraiture of her character. At the same time, and to reply at once to similar remarks, the Editor would beg leave to say, that if this prayer seems incorrect in expression, or in any sense to ask amiss; it must not be forgotten that there are seasons and cases when the heart anticipates the head, and when the warmth of feeling and simple piety supply what is wanting in theological knowledge. At this period of their lives, neither the subject of this memoir, nor his partner, saw things as they saw them afterwards; but they were faithful to the light they had, and they walked according to it; and though that light was as yet but dim, it was sufficient to guide those into the way of truth who were willing to be led. Thus proceeding, they saw more, they knew more, as they went forward. Truth was revealed, in proportion as they advanced; and in them both we may believe that

the promise was verified which says, "The path of the righteous is as the shining light, which shineth more and more until the perfect day."

To the wife's memoranda the husband subsequently added; "This first year, or rather part of it, had indeed been a period of happiness to us. In the early part of April I returned from the Mediterranean. On the 14th I saw my inestimable Isabella, after a separation of thirteen years. And on the 19th our union took place; in which I received the utmost reward to which I had ever allowed myself to look forward—one that amply recompensed me for all my exertions, or rather which appeared a blessing bestowed upon me by my bountiful Creator, far beyond what I could have dared to hope for. We enjoyed at Bath a few months of such happiness as seldom falls to the lot of human nature; but I felt it my duty to follow up my profession, and in the pursuance of that object we quitted our happy home."

In the autumn of 1800 the political horizon beginning to wear a lowering aspect, Captain Brenton had solicited employment, and had obtained the command of the Minerve, of thirty-eight guns; which at the date of the previous extracts, he was fitting out at Greenwich. On the 19th of January, 1801, he became a father, and gave to his first born son, whose subsequent death has already been mentioned, the name he so justly loved and respected of the Earl of St. Vincent, John Jervis.

In the month of March he sailed for Spithead, where he arrived on the very day that orders were given to prepare for war; and on that same day he met with a serious accident, by a block falling on his head, which

occasioned a severe wound, and a concussion of the brain. Of this event, the following record has been found from the pen of Captain Brenton, written a few days after this period; when his wife had mentioned the christening of his son. "The ship being ready for sea, I was obliged to leave my beloved Isabella and her darling infant, in order to proceed to Portsmouth, to fit for foreign service. She was to join me there as soon as she should be able to travel. The weather was extremely severe; a succession of gales rendered our passage a very long one. It was the 12th of March before I reached Spithead; and on that day a severe trial befel my inestimable wife, by a wound which I received on the head, by a block falling on me. The accident was considered so serious as to be reported to the Admiralty by telegraph; and a Captain was immediately appointed to act for me; the ship being required on the coast of Holland, in consequence of an armament taking place in that quarter. To prevent any alarming reports reaching my beloved Isabella, I sent off a midshipman to give her an account of what had happened. Her feelings received a severe shock, but her resolution was soon formed, and in a few hours she was with me at Portsmouth, —my tender nurse—my inestimable companion—and this she continued to be during the whole course of her invaluable life; the soother of all my cares and sufferings; making adversity itself a period marked by bright gleams of happiness. With her dear society, and that of her sweet infant, my mind was soon at rest. The wound though severe, and apparently dangerous, was soon in a favourable state; and every serious symptom

vanished, through the kind and protecting care of divine providence.

"When I saw the Minerve get under weigh, it occurred to me that I should derive great benefit, as well as happiness, by proceeding by easy stages to Bath, and remaining quietly in my own house, until sufficiently recovered to rejoin my ship. I had no sooner suggested the idea than my darling Bella's eyes sparkled with delight. That home had indeed been an abode of real felicity to us; but which she had consented to quit from the noblest principles, that of accompanying me to any part of the world, to which my professional duties should lead me. She now enjoyed the pleasing prospect of our remaining there for some time. All the comforts of our home were doubly appreciated in her estimation, as they would so materially contribute to my welfare; and immediate preparations were made for our journey. Our sweet infant was by no means well, and his beloved mother seriously ill, before we reached Southampton; but a great and merciful God spared and protected us. We reached Bath on the third day, all in a state of convalescence. The tranquility I enjoyed in my happy home soon restored me to apparent health; my wound healed, and I thought myself perfectly recovered.

"My ship was on the coast of Holland, one of a squadron under Admiral Thornborough, watching an armament fitting out in the Texel and Scheldt. War was considered to be inevitable, and I became restless, and impatient to rejoin the Minerve. My inestimable friend saw the state of my mind; and though deeply

suffering from anxiety on account of my health, added to the painful idea of separation, she piously acquiesced in the necessity, and resigned herself and all dear to her to the will of heaven.

"I joined my ship on the coast of Holland, but I was soon convinced that I was not fit for active service. I told the Admiral of my wish to go on shore again. He kindly sent my ship in with me, and another captain was appointed to act for me. I proceeded to London to consult Sir Walter Farquhar; who, considering the wound to have occasioned a severe concussion of the brain, recommended the utmost tranquility of body and mind. Could I have remained undisturbed with the idea of approaching hostilities, I had at Bath every requisite for the most perfect happiness.

"I reached Bath on the 13th of May: and on the 18th hostilities began with France, my own ship having on that day made many captures in the channel. It is needless to describe the state of my mind. It was by no means such as to promise much benefit from remaining on shore. Applications were also making for my ship, under the impression I should not be able to join her. I immediately formed my resolution to return to her; the exhilarating prospects of my profession bore me up."

Captain Brenton preferred the certainty of suffering to the anxiety attached to retirement, and again resumed the command of the Minerve, employed in the blockade of Cherbourg; where several of the French flotilla had been collected, and were watching an opportunity to proceed to Boulogne. On the first of July a detach-

ment succeeded in getting into Barfleur, at an early hour in the morning, although chased by the Topaze and Minerve. In order to prevent the escape of any more, Captain Brenton determined to keep as near Cherbourg as possible. During the afternoon of the second a thick fog obscured the harbour, but by standing in under little sail, he succeeded in getting sight of what both the pilot and himself supposed to be the Isle Pelée, at the eastern extremity of the harbour, distant about a mile. The ship was then wore to stand off under easy sail for a short time. She had scarcely come to the wind, when a number of small vessels were discovered under the land, supposed to be the flotilla; and the Minerve again wore immediately to pursue them. A cast of the lead having been obtained, the pilot declared that the ship might run into the centre of the flotilla without danger, which was instantly done; and when in the moment of bringing the guns to bear upon them, she grounded upon a shoal, and the tide ebbing fast, left no hopes of her being extricated until its return. In less than half an hour the fog dispersed, and the moon shewed them the perilous situation in which they were placed. What they had imagined to be Isle Pelée was Fort de la Liberté, at the western side of the harbour. The shoal upon which the Minerve had grounded was no other than one of the cones by which the port was formed; and the supposed flotilla, the small vessels employed in carrying stones to those works. At the same time a heavy fire was opened from Fort de la Liberté, and Isle Pelée, as well as from two intermediate small batteries, and two gun brigs lying in the harbour.

Such a situation demanded the utmost energy from every one, and certainly more could not have been shewn than was exhibited. The boats were immediately hoisted out, and Mr. Walpole,* the third lieutenant, was directed to proceed in the first that reached the water, to endeavour to cut out from the interior of the harbour some vessel large enough to carry out a bower anchor. As Captain Brenton foresaw that he should require the launch, with her carronade to operate a diversion upon the gun brigs; the barge was to have been sent to the assistance of Lieutenant Walpole; but this gallant young officer pushed forward, without waiting for reinforcements, and boarding a lugger under the batteries, towed her out with his single boat, under a tremendous fire of great guns, and musketry, alongside the ship. She was laden with stores to the water's edge, consequently was incapable of bearing any addition to her burden. A new difficulty here occurred; to discharge her alongside was to increase the shoal; it was therefore necessary to veer her astern to the extent of a hawser, and to throw her cargo overboard, before she could be of any service. The fire from the batteries was very galling, and the ship began to suffer severely under it, both in her crew, and her rigging, and hull. The launch was sent with the second lieutenant, Mr. Fitzgerald, to call off the attention of the gun brigs, and had the desired effect of slackening their fire upon the ship. At midnight the lugger was hauled

* Afterwards the Honourable William Walpole, a Post Captain.

under the bows to receive the anchor, but was repeatedly hulled by shot, so as to render it necessary for carpenters to be continually repairing her. Whilst this tedious and laborious operation was being performed the anchor was at last placed in her, but the hawser from the kedge, which had been laid out for the purpose of warping the lugger, being shot away, it became necessary to employ the boats in towing her, a circumstance Captain Brenton would gladly have avoided, as it exposed the boats' crews, and took too many people from the ship. The line of boats soon attracted the notice, and consequently the fire of the batteries, and gun brigs, which now became tremendous; but every discharge was answered by the most animated cheers from the boats' crews, who gallantly succeeded in placing the anchor in its destined direction.

Every exertion was in the mean time made on board to lighten the ship abaft; as her stern hung upon a broken part of the cone, and there were six fathoms under her bows. The guns, useless under such circumstances, were all got under the forecastle, and every other weight from abaft; the two forecastle guns alone being employed against the gun brigs. At two o'clock the situation of the Minerve was so hopeless, from the wind having died away entirely, and some rise having taken place in the tide, that Captain Brenton had it in contemplation to burn the ship, taking the crew away with the assistance of the lugger and the boats. For this purpose the lugger was brought alongside; the wounded ordered to be placed in her, and every preparation

made to set fire to the ship, when all other resources should fail. The capstan was however manned, and they continued heaving as the tide rose.

The day broke at three o'clock, and the batteries increased their fire with surer aim, whilst the gun brigs, finding themselves within range of grape shot, annoyed the ship exceedingly. Many of the people at the capstan were killed or wounded, but their places were immediately supplied; and the men encouraged by their officers continued the most persevering efforts. At half past four the ship floated; the cable was cut, and such sail as could be made, trimmed amidst the cheers of the ship's company, who now considered their danger and labours at an end. The wind however again failed them, and the ship was set by the last drain of the tide upon another part of a broken cone, where she lay with only two fathoms and a quarter under her main chains. The lugger, upon which the crew depended for their escape was dismasted, and in a sinking state; (the wounded had been returned to the cockpit, as the hopes of getting the ship off had increased); she was also cut adrift, as was the launch by the enemy's shot; no boat remained, capable of carrying out an anchor; and deprived of every hope of saving the ship; Captain Brenton to prevent the further effusion of blood, at half-past five A.M. surrendered her to the enemy, after a most anxious struggle of nine hours.

The Minerve had eleven killed and sixteen wounded. The prisoners were landed at Cherbourg, to await orders from the First Consul, relative to their future disposal. These arrived in a few days, and directed

them to be marched to Epinal, the capital of the department of the Vosges, a distance of nearly five hundred miles: intelligence not very welcome to the unfortunate captives, as they had flattered themselves with the hope of being soon exchanged, and kept near the coast for that purpose. Of this event Captain Brenton speaks thus, "This was one of the most trying periods of my life, but one, in which I felt, in a peculiar degree, the benefit of a reliance on Divine Providence. When fully aware of the situation in which the ship was placed shortly after her taking the ground, by the fog clearing away, and the batteries opening their fire upon us, I remember walking aft, and leaning over the taff-rail, I offered a short and humble prayer to the Almighty for my beloved wife and child. The effect appeared to be instantaneous. In no period of my life do I remember to have ever been more composed than at that moment, nor did my tranquility ever forsake me during the whole of that trying night."

The concluding particulars of the loss of the Minerve, may be here inserted as given by Captain Brenton. "At length I put the question to my officers, whether any hope remained: all answered in the negative, and recommended surrender. The painful alternative was adopted; and the colours being hauled down, shouts of triumph resounded from the shore. I then went into my cabin, and having destroyed my private signals, proceeded to collect such things as might be most immediately necessary, threw them into my cot, which, though unoccupied through the dreadful night, was hanging up in my cabin. In this I had my

plate, and such of my clothes as I could the more easily get at, lashed up and given to my servant. Whilst thus occupied, the master of the French vessel, which had been taken in the preceding evening, and who had been kept below during the night, hearing that the ship had surrendered, made the best of his way to my cabin, and began to console me, 'Songez mon brave Capitaine, que vous êtes distingué; que vous vous êtes defendu en brave homme; que vous avez seulement subis le sort de la guerre; que les Francais sont de braves gens.' At this moment the batteries renewed their fire, and the panegyrist immediately took to his heels for his place of security, crying out, 'O les coquins, les marauds,' and such other terms as seemed at the moment most appropriate for this attack upon a fallen enemy. I then went on deck, and standing up upon the taffrail, waved a white flag, calling out at the same time, Nous, nous sommes rendus.' The gun brigs also repeated this information, 'Ils se sont rendus.'

"It was some time before the firing ceased, but providentially no one was hurt by it. The reason subsequently alleged for the continuance of hostilities was, that the Minerve had not lowered her sails; but had the Commandant known of how little importance this circumstance was in our situation, he would not have incurred the risk of an useless effusion of blood. Under existing circumstances, he only added to the injury already done to a ship in his possession. A boat from the senior officer of the gun brigs soon after came alongside; and after making himself very certain that the ship had indeed surrendered, received my sword,

which he imagined he had gained by his own valour; and retained it, notwithstanding the less doubtful claim of the military commander. But the same idea, which this Commander of the gun brig had taken up, was adopted by Buonaparte himself; who, having received the dispatch announcing the capture of the Minerve, whilst in the theatre at Brussels, immediately arose, and said, 'Messieurs et Dames, la guerre navale a commencèe sous les plus heureuses auspices. Une superbe fregate de l'ennemi, vient de se rendre a deux de nos batimens cannoniers,' not saying a word of the batteries, or the shoal."

CHAPTER VI.

JOURNEY FROM CHERBOURG. — KINDNESS OF M. DUBOIS. — AND ARRIVAL AT EPINAL.

A CIRCUMSTANCE occurred previous to the prisoners beginning their march, which cannot be too generally known; as it does great honour to an individual amongst our enemies, and is one of the many acts of kindness shewn by the inhabitants of France, to the prisoners passing through the country, where the general feeling was by no means so hostile to the English, as is too frequently supposed. Hostility to this country was almost entirely confined to the military in France.

The length of the journey they had to perform, rendered the prisoners very solicitous about their pecuniary concerns, particularly as no person at Cherbourg would discount their bills. Captain Brenton, in order to increase his stock, offered his watch for sale at a watchmaker's, who would give him only five guineas for it, though the watch was made by a first rate maker, and was of gold. He consequently left the spot with some indignation. Whilst standing at the door of the Auberge a little while after, he was addressed by a person who wished to know, if he had not a watch to dispose

of. Captain Brenton expecting a similar offer to the last, answered, "Yes, but you will not buy it." The stranger replied, "That is more than you know, let me see it." Upon examining the watch, he asked the original price of it, and being told thirty-one guineas; he said, "Were I to buy your watch, I would only give fifteen guineas; but as I only mean to take it in pledge, I will let you have twenty-five." Captain Brenton, surprised at so novel a mode of making a bargain, said laughing, "You are an honester fellow than I took you for; give me the money, and take the watch." The stranger's name was M. Dubois, a merchant of L'Orient. He came back in a few minutes, saying, "Sir, I shall never forgive myself for having accepted a pledge from an officer suffering from the fortune of war. Take back the watch and give me your note of hand." This being done with due acknowledgments on the part of Captain Brenton, M. Dubois again left him, and in a short time again returned with twenty-five louis more, saying, that he had been examining his purse, and found that he had that sum more than was necessary to carry him to L'Orient, and begging that he would accept of that also. He then deposited it on the table, destroying the former note of hand; and requesting that another might be made out to include both sums. Captain Brenton in his additional remarks on the subject of the watch, says, "Each time that M. Dubois, the kind merchant returned, he exclaimed, "Monsieur, ma conscience me pique," striking his breast; and the last time exclaiming, "Ma conscience me pique encore." I observed that it must be a most unreasonable conscience, not to be satisfied with

what he had done; but he rejoined, "No, Sir, I ought not to have taken any security from you." Captain Brenton adds, "I am happy to say that in the course of this war very many instances occurred of great benevolence shewn towards the British prisoners in France; and in those cases where they experienced harsh or cruel treatment, it almost always arose from military power having been obtained by men, whose only recommendation was their bravery, and who had no kind feelings to temper it; but these instances were rare.

It seems due to this excellent man, M. Dubois, whose singular kindness and generosity alleviated the first bitternesses of captivity for the captain and crew of the Minerve, to add a letter, which proves that the act in question was not the sudden impulse of excited feeling on contemplating their unhappy lot; but that it was part of a character in which tenderness and sympathy with suffering predominated habitually.

"L'ORIENT, 6 PLUVIOSE, AN 12.
27 JANVIER, 1804.

"MON CHER AMI,

A mon retour d'une petite absence, on me remit votre lettre obligeante et amicale; et Je suis empressé d'y repondre. Il seroit en vain que j' entreprendrois de vous rendre le plaisir qu'elle ma'a fait. Il n'y a, que des cœurs aimants capables de s'èn faire une idée.

"Je vous croyais depuis long temps échangé, et je vois avec peine qu'il n'en est rien. Combien je partage les chagrins que vous devez éprouver, de l'incertitude continuelle de votre sort, depuis votre départ de Cherbourg; c'est de mon avis la situation la plus pénible á supporter pour l'homme dont le caractère ferme et decidé, est audessus de tous les evénemens.

"Vous êtes donc encore mon bien bon ami dans l'attente de votre échange, et vous me faites entendre que vous ne la prevoyez pas prochaine. Ah! Je sens combien votre situation est cruelle; vous êtes depuis long temps eloignè de parens et amis qui vous sont chers, et à qui sans doute vous l'etes aussi, et c'est ce qui augmente vos peines. Combien je désirerois qu' il fut en mon pouvoir de les alléger. Mais comment? nous sommes loin l'un de l'autre. Si du moins le lieu de votre exil etoit L'Orient, aidé par mon épouse et ma petite famille, nous vous offririons les consolations de la plus tendre amitié, et si nous ne parvenions pas à dissiper entiérement vos chagrins, au moins réunis nous les partagerions. N'en doutez pas mon bien bon ami, car nous sommes sincérement affectés de vos peines, et mon épouse (qui brule d'envie de vous connoitre, sur tout depuis votre agréable lettre) sent aussi vivement que moi, les regrets cuisants que vous éprouvez à' être aussi long temps privé du plaisir de revoir tout ce que vous aimez chez vous. Espérons ensemble que ce moment si naturellement desiré de vous, n'est pas eloigné, et qu'au prémier instant vous jouirez enfin des tendres embrassemens de tout ce qui vous est cher.

"Etes vous au moins à Verdun d'une maniére agréable? Vous laisse t'on la liberté de former quelque société, qui pourrait vous distraire de vos ennuis? je le désire bien ardemment. Je ne connais personne dans cette ville, mais si vous aviez la faculté d' aller et venir dans son enceinte je ferais mes efforts pour me procurer de divers amis quelques lettres de récommendation pour vous.

"Le Mandat que vous nous aviez remis á été parfaitement acquitté depuis plus de 3 mois; ainsi point d' inquiétude de votre part à ce sujet; et quand il ne l'eut pas été aussi promptement, ce n'aurait pas été un motif d' en avoir d' avantage; vous meritez à ce sujet que je vous gronde un peu; il ne devait plus être question entre nous de nouveaux remerciemens (m'en aviez vous pas deja trop fait?) c'etait un arrété pris avant mon départ, et vous y contrevenez; que ce soit au moins pour la derniére fois, car penseriez vous mon cher ami que le plaisir étoit pour vous seul? comptez au contraire pour beaucoup celui que j'ai en faisant la

connoissance d'un galant homme comme vous, et de qui, je continue à recevoir des marques d'un obligeant attachement. Ne regardez point ceci comme un froid compliment, ma plume n'est jamais que l' interpréte de mon cœur.

" Vous me faites l' offre obligeante de votre crédit pour moi, et mes amis, que le sort de la guerre rendrait malheureux en Angleterre. Je vous aime, et vous estime assez pour l' accepter avec franchise au besoin, mais toujours avec la circonspection que l'on doit au bon cœur d'un ami.

" Vous dire mon cher Capitaine avec quel plaisir je recevrai de vos nouvelles toutes les fois que vous pourrez m'en donner, ne serait rien vous apprendre de nouveau; puisque vous ne doutez surement pas de l' attachement que je vous porte: ainsi obligez moi de m'en donner le plus souvent possible, et sur tout l' avis de votre échange quand il aura lieu.

" Je crois mon cher ami n' avoir pas besoin de vous rappeller que vous devez toujours librement et franchement disposer de moi dans toutes les occasions; faites moi le plaisir de vous en bien souvenir, et de croire de loin comme de pres, qui si les vœux que je formerai toujours pour votre bonheur sont exaucés, il ne vous restera rien a désirer.

" Il faut que je finisse mon Epitre. On ne s'ennuye pas quand on cause avec de bons amis. Il ne faut cependant pas les fatiguer, vous ne m'accuserez pas J'espére de Laconisme. Je trouverais au surplus mon excuse dans le plaisir que j'ai á m'entretenir avec vous.

" Agréez par continuation mon cher ami l' assurance des sentimens d'estime et d'attachment avec lesquels je serai toujours votre tout devoué bon ami,

" L. DUBOIS.

" P. S. Rappellez moi s'il vous plait au souvenir de Monsieur Fenwick et de vos autres officiers dont je me souviens toujours avec plaisir, et veuillez leur dire mille choses obligeantes de ma part; ainsi qu'au cher fiér Docteur que Je salue par trois fois trois.

"Je viens aussi de recevoir une lettre de Monsieur Black, il a fidélement rempli vos intentions près de moi, et je l'en remercierai par ma prémiére."

The seamen and marines of the Minerve began their march for Epinal on the 8th of July; and the officers on the following day. The sufferings of the former, unprotected by their officers during this long march, were extreme; assailed as they were by fatigue, hunger, and every privation. The officers upon leaving the coast were accompanied only by three gens d'armes, who treated them with every respect. They received notice of the place which should terminate the day's march, and made parties for performing the journey without any restraint from their guards. They, at the same time, shewed themselves deserving of such confidence by the strictest compliance with the directions they had received, and the utmost regularity of conduct.

On the third day they reached St. Lo, a military arrondisement, commanded by General Dellegorgue, an officer who had served in Egypt, and who fully appreciated British valour and British honour. He treated the prisoners with the most marked attention; and indeed the hospitality evinced by the inhabitants of St. Lo was such as to merit particular notice.

Captain Brenton's notes have left some further particulars of this march, and of the two days at St. Lo. He says, "All was now preparation for the march, which was to commence on the 8th of July. The youngsters were all animation and glow; their spirits were buoyant; and feeling convinced that their detention would

be short, they had made up their minds to enjoy the events of the day, without care and without regret. They knew that their term of service would go on in the same manner as though they were at sea; and they looked forward to the time, when they might return to their profession with much to relate, and the advantage of having acquired at least some portion of the French language. Early on the ninth we left Cherbourg, and having ascended the hill, took our last farewell of the poor old Minerve, lying dismantled in the harbour. The first day's march brought us to Valogne, a distance of fifteen miles. The weather was beautiful, as was the scenery; and we quite enjoyed the release from the confinement of the Auberge. The ship's company had gone on the preceding day; and subsequently during the whole course of the march to our ulterior destination, the officers arrived in the evening at the place which the seamen and marines had left in the morning. On the second day we reached Carentan; and on the third came in sight of St. Lo, a beautiful little town on the slope of a hill. This place, we had been given to understand, was to be our residence, and we rejoiced to find it possessed of so many advantages.

"On entering the town I was conducted by the gens d' armes to the General, and was received by him with all the urbanity and kindness possible. He invited me to dine with him, and to bring my first lieutenant. This officer being unwell, the second took his place. We had an elegant little repast, and every possible attention shewn us. At the commencement of the dinner I observed my lieutenant to evince a slight sign of dis-

gust. I asked the reason; and he replied, 'They are frogs, Sir.' The General asked what the officer said, and on being told, was much amused at the idea so prevalent among Englishmen, and especially English sailors, that much of the French diet consists of frogs. In the course of our conversation, I expressed my gratification that St. Lo should have been made the place of our confinement. The General replied, that he regretted much that there should be any disappointment, but that he had received orders for the prisoners to march on to Epinal; and that a military escort had been sent to conduct them to Caen, the capital of Calvados, the department we were then in: and that we were to proceed on our route the next day but one. On the 14th of July the prisoners were assembled, and consigned to the custody of an officer of cavalry. General Dellegorgue was present on this occasion, and when the prisoners were ready to march, he came up to me, and embraced me in the warmest manner; wishing me a speedy release from this captivity, and health, and happiness. This interview was highly amusing to the young midshipmen, who had never before witnessed such a demonstration of cordiality. One of them was heard to exclaim, 'See, the French General kissing our skipper;' the familiar name by which the Captain is designated when spoken of by the youngsters.

"According to the regulations of the march, the prisoners were billeted separately upon the houses of the inhabitants. Upon repairing thither to their beds at night, they found a supper prepared, and the friends of the family invited to assist in entertaining the captive guest: nor did it end here. The following day was to be

one of repose, and the march was postponed until the next. A dinner and supper was provided in the same manner; and on the morning of departure, at sunrise, breakfasts were prepared; nor could these worthy people be prevailed upon to receive any indemnification for the trouble and expence they had incurred. From St. Lo the escort was strengthened by the addition of a party of cavalry, and the prisoners were marched in ranks, from which none were suffered to deviate; an inconvenience greatly felt, when compared with the indulgence they had received at first; the more so, as it confined them to the middle of the road, covered them with dust from the horses, and kept them on too quick a pace for such a march, and in so sultry a season."

On arriving at Caen, Captain Brenton complained to the General of such restriction being imposed on officers, who had given their parole of honour. This General was the very reverse of the last; and he replied in a brutal manner, "Je me moque de votre parole d' honneur. Je ne sais pas ceque c'est, moi." Captain Brenton replied, "I will describe it to you. It is (with a British officer) stronger than any prison you have in France." The General threatened to take from them their parole, but he did not put his threat in execution. After leaving Caen the restrictions gradually increased, and at length the prisoners, upon arriving at Bernay, were shut up in one room, with sentinels at the door; the commander of the escort, at the same time, offering to order every accommodation the inn could afford to be brought to them; an offer which was disclaimed with disdain, unless they should be treated differently. The

commanding officer of the party then shewed Captain Brenton his instructions from General ——; which were to guard his prisoners with the utmost severity and vigilance, as well on the march as in the towns where they should stop; and to grant them no indulgences on his peril. He however said he felt so strongly the injustice that had been done them, that, if Captain Brenton would be responsible for their conduct, they should enjoy the same indulgence as when they began their march. This was a condition he gladly accepted, and which was productive of all the comfort of which their situation was susceptible. The worthy man who thus promoted the comfort of the poor prisoners is now no more, and consequently is out of the reach of the resentment of his General. The remainder of their journey was performed with ease; and they reached Epinal on the 12th of August, where they found their unfortunate shipmates, who had arrived the preceding day. Some were in the hospital, and the remainder in rags, and starving from the small quantity and bad quality of their provisions. It is due to the liberality of M. M. Peregaux to observe here, that in reply to a letter from Captain Brenton, written from Pontoise, requesting them to send his drafts, and those of his officers, to England for acceptance, and when honoured to remit the amount to Epinal; that those gentlemen sent three hundred louis d'or to Captain Brenton at St. Denis, and an order for four hundred more upon Epinal; with offers of as much as they wished to draw for under Captain Brenton's endorsement.

Some additional particulars of this journey may

be given from Captain Brenton's private notes. "Having heard of an English lady residing at Caen, I called upon her. She immediately offered me all the assistance in her power, and amongst other acts of kindness, made me a tender of her credit with a banker, which I thankfully accepted, and procured fifty louis. This was a very timely supply, as the fifty louis of M. Dubois were not expected to last long amongst so many."

"We were just seated at dinner at St. Denis, when a gentleman from M. Peregaux was announced, who brought me three hundred louis in gold, and a letter of credit for four hundred more upon M. Doublat, at Epinal, with an assurance that any bills endorsed by me should be immediately honoured. This conduct was truly noble, and a high compliment to the British navy. No sooner was this act of liberality made known, than there was a general cheer amongst the midshipmen, and indeed amongst all hands. 'I will walk no more,' cried one; and 'I will have a carriage and drive myself,' said another. In short, each one had some scheme of future proceeding, and all were determined to be indemnified for past fatigue. On the following day every description of carriage was put in requisition, and the whole of the prisoners were provided for; but when they found that all the carriages must be kept together, and go 'au pas,' in order to keep with the infantry, a portion of which formed a part of the escort; the luxury of being carried ceased to have its charms; and nearly the whole body returned to marching on foot, to which they had got so much accustomed."

Of his own feelings during this journey Captain Brenton speaks thus in his notes, "I performed nearly the whole of the march on foot, and in the heat of summer; yet I never remember to have enjoyed better health. Indeed, under all my trials, I have experienced the same mercy and goodness from Divine providence; and this has convinced me, that under all my depressions of spirits, and despondencies, from which I have so often derived unhappiness, it has been from want of exertion, and from gloomy forebodings, in which I was most culpably indulging."

Those who best knew him, would consider this to be more the language of humility than of truth; but they must also feel convinced that it was dictated by sincere conviction, and self-abasement. Again, adverting to the period immediately following his arrival at Epinal, he writes, "From the time of our arriving here I had frequent communication with England by letters; and our hopes were constantly excited, or depressed, by the various and contradictory reports which reached us: but I had one source of comfort which never failed me —it was the contemplation of the goodness of God towards me. I often contrasted my situation at that time, trying as it was, with what it would have been, had I been united to a woman, who would not have shared in my lot, as my beloved Isabella did. Her fond affection would have prompted her to have flown to me instantly, but for the prospect of my being immediately released. What advantages of beauty, or splendour of fortune, can be put in competition with such a heart as she possessed? with what lustre did she shine

in the hour of trial. It was at this time also, whilst living in peaceful retirement at Epinal, where we certainly enjoyed tranquility, and with very few exceptions experienced the greatest kindness from the French; that I began to consider more attentively the nature of the religion I professed; and I soon found that I had hitherto been a nominal christian only. Since that period I humbly trust every succeeding year has brought some little increase in the knowledge of my duty; although I am still at an awful distance from what I ought to be. My subsequent life has however been greatly influenced by the reflections I then made. Sweet are the uses of adversity."

He adds these remarks on his first arriving at Epinal. "The hopes of an immediate exchange having now vanished, I considered it my duty to take the most prompt measures to render our captivity as advantageous, and as little galling as possible, particularly to the young people, and to the ship's company. My first care was to have the young people, who had been placed under my particular charge, put *en pension* with respectable French families; where they might have the advantage of regular hours, and be enabled to learn the language with greater facility; instead of living together, where nothing but English would have been spoken, and much of their time passed in idleness. Here they had the advantage of such masters as the place afforded. The early hours of the French families greatly contributed to the health and comfort of those intrusted to their care; whilst the very moderate terms paid for their board and lodging, as well as for their instruction,

enabled them to obtain great advantages at a very low price. In fact the misfortune of having fallen into the enemy's hand, bid fair to be of the most essential benefit to some, who had been sent to sea very little advanced in education, particularly as their time of servitude went on as well as their pay, in the same manner, as though they had actually continued afloat. The officers and myself had of course each our private lodgings in the town; but we formed a mess at the principal inn, where we had an excellent dinner and supper, with wine included, for the very small sum of fifty francs each per month, less than one shilling and sixpence sterling per day.

"At (I believe) Gondrecourt, the march having been finished early in the day, I had laid down, and had fallen asleep, when I was awakened by English cheering under the windows; and looking out to ascertain the cause of this unusual circumstance, was told that a courier from Paris to Epinal had just passed, and had given the joyful information that he was the bearer of orders for an exchange of prisoners, and that we might expect to be marched back to the coast, even before we should reach Epinal, This was so probable, that it was easily believed, and we proceeded to Epinal, in the full persuasion that our stay there would be very short. It is likely the report was well founded, for at this time the British government had offered to exchange Captain Jurieu, taken in the Franchise, for me; but it was refused by the first consul."

Having thus seen the Captain and crew of the Minerve arrived at the end of their journey; the

Editor feels that he is justified in calling the attention of his readers, to the circumstances under which the subject of this memoir was then placed.

We have seen him in the previous narrative, slowly and gradually, amidst various trials and disappointments, winning his way to that point in his profession, which a just and reasonable ambition led him to desire. We have seen him emerging out of difficulties which were likely to have overwhelmed a man who was supported by no family or private interest, and who was to rise, if he rose at all, by personal exertions. We have seen him obtaining promotion, rank, and honour, and finally in gaining the object of his early and persevering attachment, we have seen him realizing all that he had hoped for or desired. And now at the commencement of a new career, the career which to an ardent and energetic spirit like his, must have seemed the most brilliant and full of promise; in command of one of the finest frigates in the navy, at the beginning of a war which seemed likely to be a struggle for life and death between two mighty empires, when everything that his profession could offer was before him; when rank and fortune, and what was dearer than both to a mind like his, were apparently within his reach, and might have been reasonably anticipated; he is doomed to open the campaign with a disaster, which was not only in itself most afflicting, and likely to affect his professional character; but which immediately involved a captivity of interminable duration; a captivity to be rendered more intolerable while it lasted, by hearing of what was done by others; and which might be

extended to such a length, as to mar all future prospect of promotion or distinctions. It is only necessary for the reader to place himself in such circumstances, and the imagination can easily supply the pictures which might have presented themselves to Captain Brenton's mind on the occasion; and, notwithstanding this, we find him in the hour of misfortune, calm if dejected; resigned to a lot which seemed to involve the loss of all he had been seeking; and sustained under defeat by the consciousness of having endeavoured to do his duty. Something may be ascribed to temperament; something may be ascribed to the buoyant character of a profession, which being cast in the midst of dangers, lives by surmounting them, and grows habitually indifferent to circumstances, by successfully struggling against them. But while we cede much to causes like these, we need not cede more than is due. Many officers no doubt shared the same hard destiny with him, and bore with more or less equanimity the trial of captivity. No comparison is drawn, nor attempted to be drawn, between their behaviour and his. Our object is not to raise Captain Brenton on this occasion above others; but to shew him as he was, and to describe how he felt and how he acted. It is not essential that a model should be superior to every thing else of the kind; but we feel that it is sufficient for the purpose, if it has qualities that should be imitated, and that may be imitated; and we know that that example is sometimes found to be the most beneficial, which comes nearest to the level of him who is to be encouraged or directed by its contemplation.

It is more than probable that Captain Brenton was but one of many in his cheerful submission to his lot, as he was but one of many who experienced the same misfortune during the war; and that the same discipline of mind led to the same patience under trial in cases of which we know nothing. But his circumstances it will be admitted were peculiar; and it seems unquestionable that some higher influence than that of the causes referred to, is necessary in order to account for the calmness of mind he exhibited during the action, and for the cheerfulness which he displayed at the commencement of his captivity. Temperament might have done much, but in naming temperament, it seems fit to remind the reader of the shock which his bodily system had experienced by the accident that occurred, while the Minerve was fitting out. Concussion of the brain too often leaves long and melancholy marks of the injury sustained by that most delicate of all the elements which form the body. His professional zeal we have seen had led him to anticipate the moment of recovery, and to go to sea before he was capable of enduring the fatigues of service. Reluctantly, and under a conviction of the absolute necessity of repose, he had once left his ship and gone ashore; and when at last he resumed his command, and sailed from Portsmouth for the coast of France, it is obvious that he could hardly have been fit for service: and that it was the spirit of the man which at that moment raised him above the infirmities of the body. That in such a state of health he should have undergone the trial of such a night, as that on which the Minerve was lost; that he should have developed

such a variety of resources for the purpose of rescuing the ship from the position into which she had run; that he should have met each crisis in the action, with such firmness and self-possession, is sufficiently wonderful. It is equally surprising, that after the excitement of the defence was over, he should have borne the fatigues and humiliations of the march without sinking under them; and I can not but think, that any one who takes all into consideration, will come to the conclusion, that much which seems admirable, much of that which seems surprising in his conduct; cannot be accounted for through temperament or natural energy. I believe it must be referred to that habitual reliance on God, which had been instilled into his mind in childhood, which had been retained through all the trials of his youth; which if it had not grown, as it might have done, had never been obliterated or lost; but which lived to be called into activity under peculiar circumstances; and which finally, through the mercy and longsuffering of God, became that faith which works by love; and made him capable of doing all things through Christ that strengthened him.

But the conclusion renders the example more valuable because it makes it more accessible. If all was to be ascribed to natural causes, to firmness of temperament and qualities peculiar to the individual, the portrait might be admirable, but it could not be generally profitable. The many, who make no pretence to such powers, would consider themselves released from all duty of imitating an excellence which they could not attain to; and all might feel that they were invited to follow a path, which it was uncertain whether they

should be able to accomplish. But when we not only see an excellence described, which excites our admiration; but also see the sources and springs from which it is derived laid open; when we are allowed to feel, that many may attain to the eminence which is held up as our example, if they will but follow the course, and adopt the means that were made use of by those whom we admire; the advantage then is multiplied, or rather an advantage is realised which before was little more than problematical; and all will be encouraged to strive when there is a hope that all may be successful.

The casual note in the private journal of the subject of this memoir as to the uses of adversity, shews that he was conscious of the change that was gradually moving forward within him, and of the need in which he stood of strength and assistance from above. The life of excitement which he had hitherto led, was not favourable to the developement or growth of religious sentiment. The grace of God had kept alive the spark, that early education had kindled; and He, who will not bruise the broken reed, nor quench the smoking flax, had mercifully preserved him from the grosser contagion of the world, through the influence of that romantic attachment which added dignity to his youthful feelings, and that thirst for glory which accompanied it. But the process which protected him from what was evil, was not equally adapted to foster the growth of what is good. The activity of service, the absorbing interest connected with his profession in the time of war, saved him no doubt from the evil inseparable from

a life of ease; but his situation as an officer offered no advantages of a religious kind, nothing to encourage serious thought or reflection. In continual movement he had no leisure for reading, no access to those means which are usually thought essential to moral improvement; no opportunity of knowing how other men feel and think on matters of a spiritual nature. In all these respects, repose was necessary; and we may perhaps now be allowed to trace the hand of providence in an event, which, afflictive as it was in itself, gave him that interval of rest, which he never would have consented to seek, or to accept if offered; and sent him for a time to meditate in the retirement of captivity, on the state of his own soul, and the real end and object of man's being upon earth.

There can be no doubt that in a moral sense this calamity, for such it seemed, and such it doubtless was for a time considered by himself, was singularly beneficial. He then found leisure, and for the first time probably in his life, to review his own principles, to consider his own state, and to examine himself whether he was in the faith. It was a blessed opportunity, but it was well that he was prepared to improve it. Other men had it, but it is feared that few used it to the same purpose. If the root of the matter had not been in him; if religion had not been long known and truly honoured; if it had not already secured a hold on his heart and affections; the leisure which was given would have been employed as leisure too frequently is, by those who pass suddenly from the excitement of active life, in indolence or folly.

His time would in that case have been wasted, the opportunity would have been lost, and the gracious purpose of God would have been frustrated as to the effect it seemed calculated to produce.

Happily for him, his mind was prepared for the trial. That habit of realising God in everything that happened, and of cheerful submission to his will, which formed a chief feature in his character, led in this case to resignation. Conscious that as an officer he had done his duty, he submitted to his lot with calmness; and instead of giving way to regret and despondency as if all was lost because he had been once unfortunate; he turned at once to the duties that were before him, and endeavoured to be the protector and benefactor of those, whom he might have been otherwise leading to victory as their commander. With this wholesome occupation the mind had no leisure to prey upon itself, and to destroy its own energies by comparing what might have been his state with that which was. Captivity ceased to be irksome. The future was no longer gloomy, while the present moment was profitably employed. The withdrawal from the anxieties and fatigues of actual service was salutary, and he felt its beneficial effects in mind as well as in body; and through the influence of religious feelings on a mind prepared to admit them, an interval which might have been past in murmurings and unprofitable recollections, became, as we shall see in the subsequent pages of the memoir, a season of calm enjoyment and of real permanent improvement.

CHAPTER VII.

REMOVED FROM EPINAL TO PHALSBURG, AND THENCE TO VERDUN. — SUFFERINGS OF THE PEOPLE ON THE MARCH, AND EFFORTS MADE FOR THEIR RELIEF AND IMPROVEMENT. — THE REV. ROBERT WOLFE OFFERS HIS SERVICES AND ASSISTANCE. — MRS. BRENTON'S ARRIVAL AT VERDUN. — RESIDENCE AT CHARNI. — ILLNESS, AND PERMISSION GRANTED TO RESIDE AT TOURS. — CONDUCT OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT TOWARDS THE ENGLISH PRISONERS OF WAR.

THE arrangements which have been mentioned, placed the officers and midshipmen in a state of comparative comfort; but it was otherwise with the crew. Upon the approach of winter, the seamen and marines being unprovided with clothes or bedding, and placed upon very slender diet, began to suffer severely. A little addition was made to their food by subscription amongst the officers, when they met as they did every week, at Captain Brenton's lodgings, for divine service; and through the same fund a quantity of old tapestry, from some of the ruined houses in the neighbourhood, belonging to the ci-devant nobility, was purchased, as a covering for them at night.

Again we have access to Captain Brenton's journal. "In the middle of November the negociation for an exchange of prisoners having failed, we were ordered to

march to Phalsburg, a small fortress in the Vosges mountains, which was considered a more secure place for confining the prisoners than the open town of Epinal. We had however scarcely established ourselves in lodging there, before we were again removed, and sent to Verdun, now established as a general depôt. As this place appeared to be nearer the line of our probable march to the coast for embarkation; we persuaded ourselves that this sudden removal certainly indicated an approaching exchange; and our spirits were buoyed up with the hopes, which cheered us under a very severe season. Upon our arrival, however, every prospect of release seemed to have vanished, and the dispositions that were made for the regulation of the prisoners, were evidently such as foreboded the establishment being a permanent one. We had however the comfort of a regular intercourse by letter with England; and those which I received at this time were full of affection, of piety, fortitude, and resignation. My captivity, your beloved mother viewed as the greatest blessing. She had been greatly alarmed at the state of my health, when I rejoined the Minerve the last time, and attributed my recovery to my having quitted active service, which no other event perhaps could have been the means of my doing. She also derived comfort from the idea that I was sheltered from the dangers of my profession, and from the hope of our being soon restored to each other."

In describing the state of his sailors on this march to Phalsburg, Captain Brenton says, "The weather was very severe, and numbers of the poor destitute prisoners

must have perished, but for the assistance afforded to them by their officers, to which the captains of the merchant vessels very liberally contributed.

After marching during the whole of a tempestuous day, they reached Rem, where they were to remain for the night, and were shut up in a ruined roofless chapel. A small quantity of straw thrown upon a broken pavement, was in a short time soaked with rain; and each man having received his three sols, had no other means of procuring food than purchasing it at the door, from persons who flocked there with wretched spirituous liquors, and boiled liver. The spirits were of course preferred, and the money intended for their supper was expended in the purchase, leaving the wretched prisoners no other support than their allowance of bread. To alleviate as much as possible this distress, on the following day, I requested the officer of the escort to put into my hands the daily allowance of three sols for each prisoner, to which I added a sum out of the subscription purse; and giving it to one of the gens d'armes, he was sent forward to Luneville, where it was laid out in meat and vegetables, which were cooked in the house of a bourgeois; who, as well as the messenger was remunerated for his trouble; and thus upon the arrival of the prisoners, they found at least a comfortable meal; and being confined in barracks had less cause to complain of their lodgings. So orderly and well behaved were these poor fellows, and so obediently respectful in their march, even to the youngest midshipman, as well as to their conductors, that upon their arrival at Sarrebourg, they were allowed to be billeted and quartered among the inhabit-

ants in small parties, taking with them their respective portions of meat and vegetables, the inhabitants cheerfully finding them fire to cook it.

"At Phalsbourg the men had excellent barracks, but they were now in a most deplorable state from want of clothes, and lame from performing such a march barefoot. To supply the place of shoes, a number of sabots, or wooden shoes, in value about three pence per pair were sent in; but it was not until stern necessity rendered it necessary, that the sailors could be induced to put them on. One, actually with tears in his eyes, exclaimed with an expletive, "Who would have thought I should come to this:" so inseparable was the association between misery, slavery, and wooden shoes in his mind. M. Parmentier, the Mayor, treated them with the utmost humanity and benevolence. He filled the hospitals with them, that they might enjoy the comfort of good beds, and nourishing food; and used every exertion in his power to procure them supplies of clothing, but without success. A slender provision of old blankets had been made, but they were some that had been used by the army of the Meuse, and had been kept in depôt since that time. I previously had written to the Admiralty, stating the distresses of the prisoners, and requesting permission to procure them necessaries, and advance to them a small daily sum, to enable them to live. The answer reached me at Phalsbourg, approving of my suggestion, and sending me a credit of £2000 for the purpose. It arrived most opportunely, for the prisoners were again ordered to march. Verdun was their destination, as the journal transcribed has already shewn. The order to move was peremptory,

although the commandant was unprovided with funds to pay either the arrears due to the prisoners, or their daily allowance of money; and but for the remittance abovementioned, they must have subsisted until their arrival at Nancy (three days) upon their allowance of bread only. The prisoners now amounted to four hundred, and were formed into three divisions, following each other on three successive days. With the first were all the officers, and nearly one hundred seamen. They began their march in the early part of December. On their arrival at Sarrebourg, the people were again confined in a place similar to that they had been put into at Rem; but such was the severity of the weather that few of them could have survived the night had they remained there. However, the commander of the escort declared he had neither authority, or means, to give them any other accommodation. It was in vain that I observed to him, that in that very town, only three weeks before, the men had been billeted amongst the inhabitants, and had shewn themselves worthy of such indulgence by their good conduct. I earnestly requested that application might be made to the municipality for permission for the people to be again billeted amongst the inhabitants; but this was objected to, from there being no security against their escape.

"However, on our way to consult a magistrate, I observed in the street a house to let; and it occurred to me that this house, a capacious one, might be hired for the night; and application being made to the owner, he consented to my proposal for a very small sum, about fifty francs. The officer of the escort also

consented, on the condition of a further sum being given for the soldiers, for the additional duty of a night guard; I giving my parole at the same time for the prisoners not attempting to escape. The number of people to be accommodated in this house was about one hundred and fifty; two remaining divisions being expected on the two following days. The supplies of food for the people were immediately ordered to be got ready; and in the meantime a quantity of firewood was sent in, and large fires made in every room. Heaps of straw were also provided, and the meat and soup were brought in in tubs, according to the number of inmates destined for each room. By the time all was completely prepared, the prisoners arrived, and were immediately distributed according to the previous arrangement. As no communication had been made to them, from the time I left them in their prison, their joy and delight at the sight of so much unexpected comfort, may be better conceived than described; tired, and perishing with cold and hunger, their food, their fire, and their straw, were indeed luxuries, which it requires a person to be in their situation thoroughly to appreciate. This they certainly did do, nor was their loyalty to their beneficent sovereign and grateful country forgotten, in their expressions of enjoyment. Fires under a proper watch were kept throughout the night; and day-break found the poor men refreshed, and grateful, ready to resume their march, in the most contented and willing state of discipline. The good effect produced by this arrangement led me to request of the magistrate, that the two following divisions might have the benefit of the house in the same

manner; to which he at once assented. A sum was accordingly left in his hands for the payment of the rent, and the provision of food and fuel; and each division enjoyed the unexpected treat that awaited them. My officers and myself, with the first division, marched on successively to Sarrebourg, Luneville, Nancy, and St. Michel to Verdun, where we arrived on the 17th of December, and were joined by the other two divisions. Here the people were allowed to repose for some days, previous to their continuing their march to their destined depot, Givet, on the banks of the Meuse; and this time was taken advantage of, in clothing the prisoners from head to foot, in a warm substantial manner, and in providing them with blankets. In the course of a week they proceeded on their route, but having none of the officers to superintend their conduct, and watch over them; they were soon again involved in misery; and a large part of their clothes were disposed of for the merest trifle to provide for their wants. So true it is, that seamen even of experience, and of sterling abilities in the exercise of their profession, are but children of a larger growth when on shore; and hence arises the necessity for that rigorous superintendence, so much blamed by those who are ignorant of the sailor's character. Hence also it is that officers whilst their men are under their command on board ship, are obliged to keep lists of every article of their clothing, and to call them to a rigid account, when any of them are missing. The consequence of the separation of these men from their officers in this case was, that when they arrived at Givet, after a march of five or six

days from Verdun, they were again in a state of destitution. The barracks at Givet not being in readiness to receive them; they were marched up to the fortress of Charlemont, and there confined in a souterrain, with all the old system of suttlers, and wet straw, and want of clothing renewed; and this in the last days of December, in that inclement climate.

The officers in the mean time were permanently settled at Verdun, to which place all the English detenus, from every part of France, were assembled; forming perhaps one of the most extraordinary groupes of character, that had ever been collected in the same spot. There were many highly respectable, and exemplary persons; some of whom had been travelling in France for their pleasure, some for the purpose of educating their children, and some for economy. There were others, whose sole object was curiosity, or dissipation. There were many skilful artificers, who had brought their talent to a French market, and were engaged in setting up manufactures, that might rival or surpass their own country. There were many, who from seditious conduct, and republican principles, had found it necessary to take shelter in France. There were fraudulent bankrupts, and broken tradesmen. There were many who had fled from their creditors, and even some who had fled from the gallows. With this motley assemblage the prisoners of war were involved, enveloped in one measure, subject to the same proscription, and the same parole. The amalgamation was not very favourable to the latter, particularly the younger branches of the service. Much good

was done, and some striking instances of conduct highly honourable to Great Britain occurred; but all know the influence of bad example, and how easily it captivates the unwary. This very soon became evident. Gaming houses were set up by the French government's authority, and a notice was stuck up against the door, that "They were exclusively for the English; and that the French were forbidden to frequent them."

Captain Brenton received a letter early in January from one of the prisoners at Charlemont, informing him of the situation to which they were again reduced, and imploring him to visit them if possible. He immediately waited upon the General commanding at Verdun, and requested and obtained permission, on condition that he would take a gens d'armes with him in the carriage, and consider himself for the time in his custody. To this he readily agreed, and proceeded to Givet, through Stenay, Sedan, Rocroy, and the Ardennes. On reaching the place he immediately went to Charlemont, and found that the statement he had received was not in the least exaggerated. It was a complete recurrence of the worst days, and all was to be done over again. It is but justice however to the French Military Authority to say, that every facility was given to Captain Brenton for the purpose of carrying out the object of his journey. The barracks, very spacious buildings on the banks of the Meuse, were now ready. The rooms were large, and capable of containing twenty men in each: and the following letter from Captain Brenton to the Transport Board, will best explain the measures taken for the comfort of the prisoners.

"VERDUN, JANUARY 25, 1804.

"GENTLEMEN,

"The British seamen, prisoners of war, having been sent to Charlemont, in the department of Ardennes, I judged it necessary to apply to the French government for permission to go there, that I might see them properly clothed, and supplied with what might be indispensibly necessary for their comfort. This indulgence was instantly granted, and I have just returned from thence. I beg leave to lay before you an account of the measures, which I have thought proper to take for the present, until I receive your orders for my future guidance. The prisoners are allowed, by the French government, three sols per day, one pound and a half of bread, a bundle of straw, and a small quantity of wood. The latter is by no means sufficient to dress their victuals, and a part of it has always been stopped to pay for the hire of kettles to dress their meat, and earthen pans to put it in when cooked.

"Upon my arrival at Charlemont, I found orders had been received there for the prisoners to be removed to the great barracks at Givet, upon the banks of the Meuse, in a healthy good situation. They are divided into rooms containing twenty men each, with brick floors. The rooms are however comfortable, spacious, well shaped, perfectly clean, with a good chimney in each. As no furniture of any kind is allowed them, I have hired ten bedsteads for each room. The bedstead with a palliasse is sufficient for two men. For the bedstead and palliasse I pay ten sols each per month. The prisoners are allowed a blanket by the French government, in addition to which I have furnished them with others, as I stated in my letter of the first. I considered this arrangement as better than purchasing bedding, which would create a great expense; and in the event of the depôt being changed, be impossible to carry. In order to prevent the stoppage taking place in the quantity of fuel, I have also hired a kettle, jug, and two earthen pans for each room, which costs thirty sols a month. Well aware that by putting any sum into the hands of the seamen, it might, in many instances, occasion intoxication and improper conduct; and that by supplying clothing only, without

adding to their allowance of provisions, I should have defeated his Majesty's most gracious intentions of succouring his distressed subjects, as their clothes would have been sold to supply their wants; I have judged it necessary, till I have received your directions, to continue their daily allowance, as mentioned in my last, viz. six sols to the people belonging to his Majesty's vessels and packets; four sols to those belonging to merchants' service; and three sols to boys. I have contracted with a butcher at Givet, to supply them with half a pound of good meat a day, at two sous per pound below the market price, which is brought to them every morning at nine o'clock, and distributed to the several rooms. The chiefs of the several rooms receive the payment due to their companions, from the French government, a certain part of which is appropriated to the purchase of vegetables, and the remainder distributed for the purpose of supplying their inferior wants. I have directed that the care of their clothes should be indispensibly necessary to their receiving a continuation of indulgence; that they should be regularly mustered every week; and that whosoever shall be found deficient, his allowance shall be stopped until the article missing can be purchased and committed to his charge.

"In order to insure obedience to these regulations, regularity in the payment, and good order in general, I have placed Mr. W. T. Bradshaw, acting clerk of the Minerve, a young man of excellent character, as superintendent, who will pay particular attention to the comfort and good order of the people, and have allowed him, until I can receive your directions on the subject, two shillings per day, and sixpence per league travelling expences from Verdun to Charlemont, as he belonged to this depôt, until removed by my application.

"I feel it a pleasing duty to say, that the prisoners are treated with the utmost kindness and attention by the French officer, charged with their superintendence; from whom I have received every possible assistance, and indulgence, in the performance of my duty; and it is with the most heartfelt satisfaction, I can state, that his Majesty's most gracious bounty has been attended with the happiest effects; and that I left my countrymen on the 16th instant, cheerful, contented, and grateful in the highest degree.

"Upon my return to Verdun I found that Captain Gower and his officers had arrived there. Captain Gower, wishing to see the wants of his own ship's company supplied, immediately set out for Valenciennes, where they are. I have in consequence given him a letter of credit on Messrs. Peregaux for £400 for the purpose.

"We have a depôt here of nearly one hundred men, provided for, as those at Givet; there is also a depôt of prisoners at Bitche, who have as yet received very little assistance, for which purpose I mean to set out for that place on the 30th instant, having procured permission. I have also clothed fifty men, left in the hospital at Phalsbourg, through the assistance of the municipality. The clothes are of a higher price than those I have purchased, but at the same time of a much better quality, as I have observed by some of the people passing through this place, on their way to Givet, the prices vary very much at the different places. I have endeavoured to unite comfort with economy. I beg leave to annex the different prices. There are here a few commissioned and petty officers, who have been passed from Toulon, and having had no opportunity of procuring supplies from England, are consequently for the moment in great distress. I flatter myself that I have only anticipated your wishes, in giving to each a small sum on account of their pay, viz. to a lieutenant £10, and to a midshipman £5. I must request you will be pleased to grant me a further supply of money, as what now remains, must in a few weeks be exhausted.

"Having met with ten masters of merchantmen in the forest of Ardenne, on their way to Verdun, totally destitute of money, having only three sols a day, and in the most wretched apparel, I gave to each of them a small sum of money for their present necessities, amounting to forty-four livres and four sols; and since my return to Verdun, have extended the like aid to several other masters in the same predicament. There is a number of men to whom such assistance would be highly useful, and who I really believe do not possess the means of procuring relief for themselves; but as they are allowed twenty-nine livres per month by the French government, I could not take upon myself to act in their favour, without your instructions for that purpose.——I have, &c. &c.

(SIGNED) "JAHLEEL BRENTON."

Captain Brenton says, "On my return to Verdun, I found dissipation and extravagance the order of the day. The gaming tables were in full career, and frequented by the greater part of the prisoners, who could collect a stake whereby to try their fortune. The result was, as might have been expected, extensive misery and wretchedness, with many acts of gross misconduct. The studies of the young people were greatly interrupted, and a gloomy prospect presented itself for the remainder of the captivity." On another occasion, it appears to have been on a visit to the depôts and hospitals of Bitche, Captain Brenton says, "I set off on the day appointed, visiting on my way the hospitals of Metz, Nancy, Luneville, Blemont and Phalsbourg, in each of which I found many English prisoners. I was accompanied in this journey by the Rev. Lancelot Charles Lee, an English Clergyman, who having been travelling in France, at the period of the war breaking out, was included in the general arrest, and sent to Verdun. This gentleman, who devoted all his time and property to the relief of his fellow sufferers, volunteered accompanying me, in the expectation of finding many of his fellow detenus in the different prisons and hospitals, we were likely to visit; nor was he disappointed; for many were found, and all were relieved to the utmost extent of his power. The society of this amiable man was a source of much enjoyment to me; and the foundation of a friendship was laid at this time, which lasted during the remainder of Mr. Lee's life." He died at his living near Oxford in the year 1842 or 1843. A singular in-

stance of the ability of the persons employed in the charge of prisoners, and their fitness for the office they had to fill, occurred upon the occasion of their journey. "The gens d'armes who had been sent with me to Givet, upon my first visit there, appeared very anxious to learn English; enquiring the name of every article which presented itself in that language, and making awkward attempts to pronounce it. He at the same time gave some not obscure hints, as to his feelings respecting the situation of prisoners; shewing that he considered those who had left families at home, as almost justified, in any effort they might make to effect their escape. This at once put me on my guard, as to the treachery I might expect from my companion, if I were to give him the slightest advantage, even in common conversation; and I consequently avoided the subject of the prisoners with the greatest care, keeping my escort at as great a distance as circumstances would admit. But as it was customary for all prisoners who were placed under the particular custody of gens d'armes to admit them to their table; a custom I felt obliged to follow, as much of the good I hoped to do for the prisoners, would depend on my being on friendly terms with this man. This rendered my situation the more dangerous. The journey however was performed, and no effort made by the gens d'armes at mischief. On my next journey I was told that the same guard would attend me. He persevered in his apparent efforts to pick up a little English. Convinced as Mr. Lee and myself were of this man's utter ignorance of the English language, we felt under no restraint before him, but

indulged ourselves in talking freely upon every subject which presented itself. The French Government, the first Consul, the treatment of the prisoners, and even the conduct of this man himself, whose gluttony, and egregious vanity, and boasting, made him a very prominent subject for remark, and ridicule, were all very freely handled; but all this passed before him without producing the slightest effect upon the muscles of his countenance; and yet upon our return to Verdun, it was discovered that this very man spoke English as well as French; and had been five years in the Irish Brigade under General Stack, in the French service. This information was given to me by the General himself. That no mischief was done by this person, can only be accounted for, on the supposition, that the object of his espionage was to detect, if possible, the existence of any plan of importance, either respecting the escape of prisoners, or as connected with some of the diplomatic secrets at that time carried on by Mr. Drake, at Munich, whom Buonaparte considered as involved in the conspiracies of Georges, and his accomplices. Nothing having transpired that could have been brought to bear upon this subject, silence was imposed upon the spy, on every other point, as no good could result from the disclosure.

"Whilst changing horses on the road to Givet, a beggar came to the carriage to whom I gave a sol; which my companion, the gens d'armes, observing, said, 'Monsieur, voila un de mes defants. Je suis trop charitableo Je ne vois jamais la misére, sans que les larmes me viennent aux yeux.' None were however observable on this

occasion, nor did he give any other testimony of his being 'trop charitable.' On our arriving in the evening at Rocroix, where we were to sleep, another gens d'armes presented himself, who being a brother Brigadier to my escort, was invited to join the dinner party; and the prowess of the French troops became naturally a subject of conversation. The charitable gens d'armes then observed to me, 'Ah, Monsieur, voila un autre de mes defants. Je suis, trop brave o si vous pourriez me voir marcher contre une redonte—ah, vraiment c'est une chose a voir.'

"On our arrival at Phalsbourg we found nearly fifty men still in the hospital, of those who had been left there on the breaking up of the depôt in December; and it is but justice to that worthy man, Monsieur Parmentier, the mayor, (whose kindness to the prisoners I before mentioned) to say, that it is impossible any people could have been treated with more kindness, and real benevolence, than these people were; much praise is also due to M. Geville, the surgeon of the hospital. I mentioned in my official letter to the Transport Board, the conduct of M. Parmentier, and stated that he had a relation, M. Leopold Liot, who had been taken prisoner at St. Domingo; and requested that he might be liberated, as an expression of gratitude to M. Parmentier, and I have the impression on my mind that this was granted. From Phalsbourg we proceeded to Bitche, where we found forty men confined in a souterrain. These were generally persons who had been detected in an attempt to make their escape, and were sent here as a punishment, and

at the same time for greater security. On our return we visited Nancy and Metz, relieving the prisoners in the hospitals at those places; and reached Verdun in the early part of March."

Soon after the prisoners had assembled at Verdun, the Rev. Robert B. Wolfe, a Clergyman of the Church of England, who was a detenu, arrested while living at Fontainbleau, made an offer of his services for the performance of divine worship. Applications were in consequence made to the General, for the use of a Government building, then vacant, which had formerly been the chapel of a convent: and this being granted, the service was regularly performed every Sunday, to a congregation consisting of by far the greater part of the prisoners, and amounting to more than one hundred persons. Mr. Wolfe received frequent assistance from the Rev. W. Gordon, another very amiable young clergyman, amongst the detenus. A school was at the same time established for the children of the prisoners, and for the boys taken in the vessels of war, and merchant vessels; all of whom under a certain age had been permitted to remain at Verdun. These boys having been clothed uniformly in neat jackets and trowsers, were marched to church on the Sunday, but the display proved to be unwise. The French authorities took umbrage at it, and an order was soon received from Paris, that the whole of these children should be sent off to Sarrelibre, to a new depôt which had been formed at that place, to the great detriment of these young people, indeed it may be said, to the utter ruin of many.

In the course of the spring a very great increase had been made in the number of prisoners. The officers of several ships of war, of Indiamen, and other vessels, had arrived, as well as detenus from the more remote parts of France. Verdun began to lose the appearance of a French town; and many shops with English signs and English designations were seen, such as "Anderson, grocer and tea dealer, from London; Stuckey, tailor and ladies' habit maker, from London, &c. &c." The Rue Moselle, the principal street in Verdun, got the nom de guerre of Bond Street, and was often called by the French themselves, "Bon Street." Races were established, and a race course hired, and fitted up, near the village of Charni, with distance posts, stewards' box, &c. &c. A pack of beagles was procured, which was hunted regularly three times a week, and became a very favourite amusement. A motley groupe followed them, consisting entirely of prisoners, with horses of every description; sometimes as many as forty horsemen being seen in the field; but it was an amusement eagerly followed up, and seemed to break the monotony of the prisoner's life, being something to look forward to.

The General in allowing the exercise of hunting, granted a Rayon of two leagues on each side of Verdun; but this was qualified by the necessity each prisoner was under of signing his name in a book kept for the purpose in an office at Verdun, twice in the course of the day; viz., once between eight and ten in the morning, and again between two and four in the afternoon. Those who wished to hunt therefore, took

care to sign as early as they could in the morning, and provided they could ensure returning before four, they felt secure as to their last signature. It was necessary in consequence that the hunt should begin early, and it was seldom of long duration. This necessity of appearing twice a day was felt by the superior officers, who had been taken in arms, as a great indignity, and forcibly remonstrated against by them in the following letter.

"SIR,

"We feel it a duty we owe to ourselves, and the rank we hold in the British Navy, to remonstrate against the treatment we receive as prisoners of war. When under the necessity of surrendering the ships we commanded to the arms of the French republic, we considered ourselves under its protection. We were taken in the performance of our duty, which in all ages, and in every part of the world, has been considered as the most noble either in public or in private life; that of supporting the cause of our country in open and honourable warfare. No exertions could save us from captivity under the circumstances attending our ships; no honour was consequently lost, and misfortune ought to strengthen our claims to hospitality. The fate of war has placed us in the hands of the French republic, and from it, Sir, we have a right to demand that respect, which the customs of all civilized nations accord to officers of our rank, who have not forfeited their titles to it by improper conduct. Ours has been invariably regulated by a sacred attention to the word of honour exacted from us upon landing in France, nor can we recollect having given the slightest cause of complaint. We are now placed on a level with the lowest description of prisoner, and enjoy no distinction whatever above them. Notwithstanding we have pledged our honour not to leave Verdun without permission, we are ordered to present ourselves twice in each day, to verify our keeping it. The Captains of the French ships Carrieré, St. Nicholas, and

Success, taken by the ships we commanded in the late war, can testify how differently they were treated whilst our prisoners.

"You must naturally expect, Sir, that under such circumstances we should feel and act as we do in laying a statement of these facts before you.

"We are, Sir, &c.

E. L. GOWER,
JAHLEEL BRENTON."

"To His Excellency
The Minister of Marine."

No answer was returned to this letter; the cause probably was, that it was referred to the Bureau of the Minister of war, who was charged with the control of the prisoners, for from the invariable kindness of Mons. Decrês, the Minister of Marine, there can be but little doubt of his readiness to attend to so just a complaint. In the course of a few weeks, however, an indulgence was granted to the officers of rank to sign only every fifth day, and the same privilege was extended to the principal of the detenus.

It is proper to mention here a fact, which occurred at this period of Captain Brenton's confinement, which is not only interesting in itself, but which eventually may have led to some important consequences to him and his associates in captivity. He was visiting at the house of a French gentleman in Verdun, and was struck by a large picture hanging up in the room, in which a person strikingly resembling the master of the house was painted, in the act of giving charity to a ragged little boy; and on enquiring what the picture was intended to represent, he received the following affecting little narrative from M. Godard, the gentleman

himself. During the reign of terror," he stated that "both Madame Godard and himself were arrested, and confined in prison, in the hourly expectation of being sent to the guillotine; while their family, consisting of six young children, were left totally unprotected. After some days passed under the most dreadful anxiety, Robespierre having been put to death, the prisoners were released, and flying to their home found all their children but one; and after the most indefatigable search, they could obtain no information respecting him. It was supposed that he must have perished in some of the conflicts which were of daily occurrence in Paris; and he was accordingly given up and mourned over as dead. Three or four years afterwards M. Godard, having business in Holland, went to Rotterdam, and was accosted in the streets by a boy in rags, begging. The child's accent was evidently French, and attracted M. Godard's notice. On asking his country, he said that it was France, and that his name was Romain. And what besides, asked the gentleman with great agitation? The boy replied, Romain Godard. In fact it was the missing child. The father's joy may be easily conceived. He found that the child expecting to be put to death at Paris, had contrived to join a party going to Holland, where he had long subsisted upon charity. He was of course soon returned to the bosom of his family, and received as one from the dead by his afflicted mother.

On Captain Brenton's continuing his enquiries respecting the youth, he was told that he had been sent out to St. Domingo on employment; and on that island

being evacuated by General Rochambeau, in 1803, Romain had embarked in a merchant vessel for France; but he was taken on the passage by an English cruizer; and was at that time actually on board the Sultan, prison ship, in Portsmouth harbour.

Captain Brenton immediately wrote to the Transport Board, stating all the circumstances of this most affecting case, and suggesting that as M. Godard was very much respected at Verdun, the indulgence of his son's release might have a happy effect upon the welfare of the British prisoners in that depôt. The Transport Board immediately obtained the sanction of the Admiralty to his being liberated; and in a few weeks he arrived once more in the paternal dwelling.

No comment need be made on this simple but affecting story. It shews how wonderfully, and yet how mysteriously, the purposes of Providence are accomplished; but it also shews how various are the opportunities of doing good, which are placed within the reach of those who are diligent in seeking for them.

Much real good probably did arise from this conversation. The young Godard was delivered from a very miserable and protracted captivity, and his family were made happy by his restoration. But beyond this, we cannot doubt that a kindly feeling was generated towards the English prisoners by the interference which led to his release; the bitter feelings which war has a tendency to produce in hostile nations were mitigated, and an interchange of kindness must have reminded the parties concerned, that the real happiness of man is the making others happy.

But while these were the apparent occupations of Captain Brenton, while he was thus busily employed in relieving the distresses and promoting the welfare of all around him, there was much passing within his own mind of which the world knew nothing; and his labours for the good of others were secretly promoting his own. Light broke in on his own mind, while he was endeavouring to enlighten others. His work and labour of love were made the means of awakening his mind to truths which had hitherto been partially considered and imperfectly felt; and these benevolent employments which withdrew him from the ordinary dissipations of the world led him to meditate more deeply and seriously on the real interests of man, on his own state before God, and his future final prospects.

"At this time," his private journal says, "I began to reflect seriously upon my religious opinions. I had indeed long been in the habit of attending to the form of religion, particularly from the period of my having served under that exemplary character, Sir James Saumarez. It had been habitual to me on the approach of danger or battle, to offer up a mental prayer for support; but upon a more deliberate examination I came to the conclusion, that *christianity made no part of my religion;* that it was almost entirely confined to the first sentence in the Prayer book, 'When the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness,' &c. I had always felt some indefinite purpose of doing this, and of amending my life; but then it was only done in trying myself by the letter of the commandment; and when there was not a decided breach of duty, I felt perfectly satisfied. With

regard to the New Testament, it hardly appeared to me as of any importance; it was seldom read, and less meditated upon. I was scrupulous in performing a certain round of duties, in the cold and heartless manner which may be supposed; but they were all tasks performed in fear, and none in love. The only light which seemed to break through the thick mist of utter darkness, arose from occasional glimpses of the working of Divine Providence. I had very long been in the habit of attributing my successes, and my preservation from danger, to Omnipotence, and not to second causes; but this is the utmost amount of religious feeling to which at that period I could lay any claim. The same merciful and long-suffering Being, who had spared and prospered me, still continued his divine and wonderful forbearance; and I may have been made, even under these appalling circumstances of ignorance and error, an instrument in keeping up among those around me, some faint recollection of spiritual things, so far at least as shewing the worship of God to be a duty, if it were lost sight of as a privilege."

It may be profitable that the reader's attention should be drawn to these expressions; and that he should trace the progress of light in the mind of the subject of this memoir, by considering the way in which he here viewed and judged himself. That the journal contains a simple artless narrative of his own experience, must be evident to every one who reads it. It was designed for the perusal of those who knew him best, to whom his heart was always open with all its workings, and who were in consequence capable of

interpreting its language, and understanding its meaning; and that the writer could have wished to impose on them a notion which did not exist in his own mind, or in any degree to disguise or exaggerate his own feelings, is impossible to be believed. Still we must be surprised at hearing the language which he uses concerning his own state, and in particular the description here given of his religious feelings. At the period spoken of, he was not only a moral character, but an exemplary man. The world had not only known him as a distinguished officer, but had seen him discharging accurately and fully all the relative duties of society, as a son, as a brother, as a husband, as a friend. In the circle at Verdun, the humanity and kindness which he had exhibited towards the poorer prisoners, and the exertions and self-denial he was submitting to in their service, had probably caused him to be considered as a model of benevolence and charity; while the regularity with which he attended to his religious duties, and the efforts which he made for the moral improvement of the people, led them to regard him as a man of piety.

We cannot be surprised at this having been the conclusion which was drawn by others from what was seen; but we may with reason be surprised at the confession which we read, and at the acknowledgment thus recorded, by the object of the world's admiration, that he was at the moment so far from what they thought him. Some allowance must be made for the humility with which a man, once awakened to the real state of his heart, will speak of his own attain-

ments; some further allowance must be made for the circumstances of dejection under which he first drew up this memorial; but it still may be expedient to state the causes which may have occasioned this remarkable difference between the apparent character, and that which he considered to be the truth, and which raised him in appearance, so high above that which he knew and felt to be his real condition. Those who had the advantage of knowing Sir Jahleel Brenton personally, can bear witness to what may be stated of the singular amenity of his character. His natural affections were so strong, his tastes so refined, his manners so gentle, his kindness so consistent; that much of what the world calls goodness, seemed to grow up in him spontaneously, and cost him nothing. He was amiable without an effort, benevolent without reflection; and habitually thinking more of others than himself, he exhibited from his earliest years much of that love which is the fulfilling of the law, as a rule of life, without feeling that love which supersedes the law as a ground of hope. The active habits of his profession, a high sense of the character that he was to maintain as a British officer, and that thirst for glory, but too justly described as the last infirmity of noble minds; conspired to give vigour and animation to his moral feelings, and to raise him above all that was base or degrading. To these high toned principles of action, his early and persevering attachment added delicacy and tenderness of sentiment; and it is not impossible to trace the effect which these united and combined circumstances must have had, in producing as fine a

substitute for that, which in reality is the work of grace on the heart, as can well be conceived. Under the influence of these impressions he was in the fullest sense what the world thought him. He was excellent in all social relations; he was brave, kind, generous, and forgiving; but he was not what he had flattered himself with being, a real Christian. Acquaintance with himself, the result of leisure, meditation, trial, all used by the Holy Spirit, and employed for the purpose of awakening his conscience, and enlightening his mind, enabled him to see the source from which these qualities proceeded, and thus to understand their real nature. He then saw, that through life he had been striving to obtain the favour of man rather than that of God. He saw that the love of men, and the praise of men had been desired, and not the praise of God. He felt that he had been touched by the love which his fellow creatures bore to him, while strange to say, he had been indifferent to the love which he believed that his Redeemer had evinced towards him. He saw that his own glory, not the glory of God had been the object of his ambition; and that though his life had been led in a very different way from that in which it was spent by others, it had not been lived to God as in duty it ought to have been. He thus learnt, that that which was highly esteemed among men, might be an abomination to God; and the twilight of his former state seemed nothing less than darkness, when compared with the brightness of the truth which burst on his mind as revealed in the Gospel. Those qualities which had won him the affections of his family and his

friends, that warm and disinterested benevolence which had made him the instrument of mercy to so many in distress, were considered in a very different way, when their principles were analysed, and their real nature ascertained; and he no doubt was astonished at finding how far it was possible to go in what seemed to be the ways of God, without having really known the motives by which he was actuated. Other men less happily constituted, would have been in less danger of self deception. The evil that was in them, lay nearer to the surface, and would have germinated and shewn itself sooner. His danger arose from that which seemed to be his security; and the man whom all the world was agreeing to admire and to love, was likely to be lost, because nothing occurred to awaken his anxiety, or to lead him to suspect himself.

Adverting to the time that the British seamen remained at Epinal, during the first months of their captivity, from August to the commencement of December, Captain Brenton says, "Their conduct in general was such as to procure them the respect of the inhabitants. Some of them remarked to me, that their town had in the previous war, been made a general depôt for prisoners; that they had had Austrians, Poles, Russians, and in short men of all nations in Europe confined there; and that the consequence was, that the whole district was infested by beggars; but that although the British seamen were evidently worse off than any who had preceded them, there was no instance of any of them being seen begging. Another circumstance very creditable to the British sailor was, that the inhabitants of Epinal were

anxious to get the prisoners to do labouring work for them; but none accepted this employment without my permission. I gladly consented to their having such advantage, under one only restriction, the necessity of which was obvious; that they should not engage in any of the public works usually performed by French soldiers; lest having taken the place of these men, the soldiers might be sent to the army. To these conditions they invariably adhered, in spite of threats and coercion."

On the establishment of the depôt at Sarrelibre, Captain Brenton says, "I applied for permission to visit the prisoners who were confined there, but my request was refused. An evident feeling of jealousy began at this time to manifest itself, with regard to the influence the British officers exercised over their countrymen; and all communication was forbidden between them. In the course of the autumn I obtained permission to reside at Etain, a little village about twelve miles from Verdun. General Abercrombie was my companion, he was the son of Sir Ralph, and had been arrested at Calais, just as he was stepping into the packet for England, previous to the commencement of the war. We were enjoying with great relish this little change in our captivity, when a detenu of rank thought proper to make his escape; and having succeeded, he wrote to the French government, defending his conduct; and adding that no detenu considered his promise to be binding. In consequence of this conduct all the prisoners were instantly recalled to Verdun. The gates were shut, and all passports taken away;

nor could the prisoners under such circumstances justly complain of the severity exercised towards them. The officers taken in active service again remonstrated, but for a time without effect. The measures of restraint however were soon again relaxed, and they returned to their former state.

Relative to this period the journal supplies the following entry, as made from a paper left by Mrs. Brenton. July 3rd, 1804, she writes, "Grant O most merciful God, that my beloved husband may this day be reflecting with gratitude on his escape from the perils of this day year, and returning humble thanks to Thee for his preservation. Continue to protect him, O heavenly Father, and if it be according to Thy all wise decree, grant that he may soon return in health and safety." To this simple and touching prayer the husband has subjoined, "I earnestly hope that I did fulfil your beloved mother's most pious wishes in offering up on that day, my grateful recollection and praises to the Almighty, for the protection He had been pleased to vouchsafe me on the day of my capture." I have for many years endeavoured to retain the impression upon my mind, by making it a part of my daily prayer: "O Almighty God, father of all mercies," he adds, "from my earliest infancy Thou hast blessed and protected me. Thou didst bless my dearest parents, and make us their children, the instruments of their welfare. O Lord, in the hour of danger, and in the day of battle, on the bed of sickness, how constantly Thou hast protected me. O merciful Creator, Thou hast preserved unto me for a series

of years, the greatest of earthly blessings, a virtuous and affectionate wife. Thou hast supported her in the hour of trial, Thou hast enabled her to bear her afflictions. Thou hast softened the miseries of my captivity, by the protection of my wife and child." "Although (he continues) we had not at this time been united much more than two years, I considered that my wife had been preserved unto me, from the earliest period of my fixing my affections upon her, more than thirteen years previous to our marriage." On Sunday, 29th July, 1804, Mrs. Brenton writes again; "I have had the pleasure of conversing with Mr. Forbes and his family about my invaluable husband, and listened with delight to the praises bestowed upon him. Continue to preserve him, O merciful God, if it be according to Thy divine will, and Thy all wise decrees. Grant that he may soon return in health and safety: this I beg through Jesus Christ our Lord."

Captain Brenton remarks, "Mr. Forbes had been detained as a prisoner in France, with many more of his countrymen, whilst on his travels; but he was liberated at the instance of Sir Joseph Bankes, to whom he was known. Buonaparte wishing to be considered the friend and patron of literary men, and this gentleman being known to have collected materials for a very considerable work upon India, which has since been published, he was glad to take the opportunity of evincing his respect for science by granting to Sir Joseph Bankes, and in favour of a man of letters, what he would have yielded to no other application.

"Mr. Forbes was a worthy pious man, who took

much delight in relieving the sufferings of his poor countrymen, who were in captivity with him. Upon his liberation, we formed the most sanguine hopes that our own would speedily follow. He shewed great kindness in charging himself with letters and presents for our dear friends in England: and promised to deliver them in person; a promise which he most punctually performed. It was indeed a great source of comfort to both of us, that this opportunity of corresponding was granted. Under any other circumstances, I should be guilty of unpardonable vanity, in transcribing the observations contained in the memoranda of this day; but, you my beloved children will read them, as coming warm from the heart of your angelic mother; dictated by that ardent affection, which was, if possible, increasing in both of us, during the whole of our union." "A considerable period," he adds, "elapses from this time, in which I can find no journal. It may have been lost, as in many other instances; or probably was not written, from the state of suspense in which we were constantly kept on both sides respecting an exchange. Alternate hopes and fears were excited by the rumours of the day. I had carried on a correspondence upon the subject, with the Minister of Marine, M. Decrés, who expressed in his letter a wish for the establishment of a cartel, which seemed to be retarded, more from punctilio than from any real obstacle. Buonaparte himself appeared by this time to have considered the measure of making hostages of the travellers, in a much less advantageous light than it had presented itself to his mind at first.

"Under these impressions I indulged the hope that were any considerable effort made in England, by persons in power, it might be attended with success. I therefore urged my beloved Isabella to write to the first Lord of the Admiralty in her own name, and her own words, and to urge a further official application. This she did, doubtful, and as it appears almost despairing of success, but anxious to leave nothing undone, which it was in her power to do, particularly when it had been suggested by me. But in this, as in every other act of her exemplary life, she recommended her cause to the power and protection of the Almighty, and with the most delightful resignation, placed all her hopes in him. The application was unavailing. Buonaparte tenaciously insisted upon the Hanoverians, and detenus being first exchanged, against the French prisoners taken in the beginning of the war. This sacrifice we could not expect our country to make, and the preservation of its dignity, even reconciled us to a further captivity. We felt, and appreciated the motive."

Referring to the memoranda of October the 29th, 1804, Captain Brenton writes, "The apprehensions of our kind friends made them too solicitous respecting the consequences, to allow them to excite any sanguine hopes on either side. They rather seemed to recommend resignation, and acquiescence in what seemed to be unavoidable; and my hopes by this time had entirely vanished. From the tenor of my last letter from the Minister of Marine, I had been convinced that all prospect of an exchange of prisoners, had now become more remote than ever; and I immediately turned my

thoughts towards making my captivity as light as possible, by associating with it what was dearest to me in the world. I determined to call for my beloved wife and child, and to take advantage of those blessings, which a most bountiful Providence had bestowed upon me; to enjoy them with gratitude; to resign myself to the Divine will; and to remain in peaceful expectation of the hour, when God might be pleased to liberate me. This plan had often suggested itself to me, but I deferred acting upon it, until I should be justified by having made every effort to procure my liberty. Having failed in these, M. Decrés, the Minister, had the kindness to forward my wishes to the utmost of his power, by sending me not only a passport for my family, but letters of recommendation for my beloved wife to wait her arrival at Rotterdam. Having once allowed such a prospect of happiness to present itself to my mind, I no longer gave captivity a moment's consideration; but counted the days to the return of spring, when I might recommend my darling Isabella to begin her journey. I had travelled sufficiently as a prisoner to know that there was neither risk nor difficulty in the undertaking; and I depended upon that benignant and merciful Power, who had so often supported us, to continue His gracious mercy and protection to my beloved wife and child.

That this meeting between the husband and the wife who came to share his captivity, was happily effected, is recorded in the note, affixed to the memoranda of New Year's Day, 1806. "We were permitted to meet early in this year; and to pass it, I may almost say, in perfect happiness. Such at least it appears, although we

had great trials in consequence of the ill health of our darling child, as well as from my own indisposition. I was attacked, in the course of the summer with a complaint upon the lungs, which to me wore a most threatening aspect. I however concealed from my dear suffering and anxious companion the most serious symptom, which was spitting of blood; and I believe she never knew it for many years afterwards, nor until I had regained perfect health, and till her's, still more valuable to me, was menaced by the same alarming indication. I then gladly told my secret, as well to comfort my beloved invalide, as to excite my own hopes. Our dear boy also was attacked, whilst travelling with us towards Tours, with a dropsical complaint, which for some time threatened his life. How little did I think that I should have lived to weep over them both. In one short month they were both taken from me."

Captain Brenton has left some details of his wife's journey, which as being made through an enemy's country, under such very peculiar circumstances, are not without interest. He says, "The vigour and energy of mind displayed by my angelic wife, were the theme of praise to all who knew her. Naturally timid and fond of retirement, her habits of life were but ill adapted to the exertion and resolution, which this journey, performed under such formidable circumstances, required. But prompted by her affection for me, and by a sense of duty, she placed herself under the care of her Divine Protector, and was immovably fixed in her purpose, incapable of being deterred by any consideration of personal risk or

suffering. Even in her anxiety for her beloved child, she was supported by the same sense of piety, and confidence in the blessing of God upon her virtuous efforts; and the blessing of God attended her through life in all she did.

"My brother was at this time commanding the Amarantha, and most providentially lying at the Nore. He had been alarmingly ill, and was still in a state of great weakness; but he was all activity for the comfort and assistance of my beloved Isabella; who with her boy, and your dear aunt Mary, had embarked in a small Prussian vessel, which was hired to take them to Rotterdam. There they were most kindly received by the respectable persons to whom letters of credit and introduction had been sent, and they there also received assurances of my welfare. In your dear Aunt Mary your beloved mother had a most affectionate and active companion, as her knowledge of the French language, and the energy of her mind rendered her peculiarly well qualified for such a journey. The fears that had been excited in England, at the necessity of travelling through hostile armies, vanished entirely as the ladies proceeded; and they found the road even better protected in consequence of the vicinity of the great French army, and of the number of gens d'armes patrolling in every direction to prevent desertion. Let this part of your beloved mother's character, which stimulated her to so much exertion, in what she considered the cause of affection and duty, be treasured up, my darling children, for your imitation. Pay a due

regard to the advice of your friends, but at the same time bring your own judgment into exercise. Compare the probabilities which may threaten you, with the nature of the duty you have to perform. Pray ardently to God that He would be pleased to direct you in your decision; and then, should the object you have in view appear to be sanctioned by duty, let no circumstance arising from other considerations shake your resolution. "Reflect, ponder, and resolve." Let this be your motto, and be inflexible in every good purpose. How much happiness should we mutually have lost, had my beloved companion been deviated from her purpose, by an apprehension of danger, which she afterwards found did not exist, or had she possessed less confidence in her Heavenly Protector. In reviewing the different events of our lives, we shall always find cause to regret having allowed the consideration of present convenience and comfort to preponderate, against what conscience had placed before us, as a duty. The same principle of resolution which your exemplary mother evinced, in the exercise of her affection for me, would on greater occasions lead to the most heroic, or the most splendid actions. These always, and only originate in right motives, inflexibly acted upon, to the utter exclusion of all minor considerations. But at the same time, you must never forget, that the object thus unremittingly pursued, should be paramount to all others, and be sanctioned by religious, as well as moral obligations."

I regret that the only memoranda I have found of

this interesting journey, are merely the names of the places, with the period of arriving at each. They are as follows :—

"Thursday, April 16th, sailed from England for Holland.

18th, arrived at Rotterdam after a passage of fifty-two hours.

20th, left Rotterdam, took a carriage from thence to Antwerp, crossed to Williamstadt, slept at Breda.

21st, arrived at Antwerp.

22nd, arrived at Brussels.

23rd, left Brussels for Namur.

24th, arrived at Namur.

25th, left Dinant, passed through Givet, and the forest of Ardennes, and arived at Mezieres. Friday, April 26th, hired another carriage to take us to Sedan, or to Verdun, in case of not meeting my beloved Brenton; but heaven allowed me to enjoy that supreme happiness, and I thought no more of the fatigues of the journey. Grant, O most merciful God, that I may never cease to feel a proper sense of Thy goodness, however impossible it must be for me to express half the gratitude I feel for Thy continued proofs of mercy, and favour, to myself and all dear to me.

Saturday, the 27th, slept at Stenay, and arrived at Verdun on Sunday the 28th."

These memoranda may appear unimportant, and irrelevant to the subject of our present biography; but yet they seem to justify Captain Brenton in having planned a journey, which, by those less deeply interested, might have been condemned as being too full of

peril, and involving too much hardship to the object of his affection. His wife's example may also serve to animate some drooping spirits placed under similar circumstances; and if it be true, as no member of the Church of England will deny, that matrimony was ordained for the mutual society, help, and comfort, that the one ought to have of the other, both in prosperity and adversity; we cannot but feel that the purposes of this merciful ordinance were singularly realised in the case before us. His own grateful reflections on the subject, are thus further expressed. "Our meeting was indeed one of pure, and unmixed felicity. My beloved wife forgot in a moment all her fatigue, and anxieties; and the recollection of captivity itself was instantly banished from my thoughts, or if I remembered it at all, it was as a blessing which brought me the happiness I enjoyed. I had been long impatiently expecting this joyful event, and the evening before had received a letter from my beloved wife, informing me of her arrival at Rotterdam. I was then living in the little village of Clermont, a few miles distant from Verdun. On this notice reaching me, I requested permission of the General to go as far as Sedan, to meet my family, which was kindly granted. On my road I was most anxiously examining every carriage as it approached. At sunset I had got within three miles of Sedan, and had begun to give up all hopes of seeing the object of my wishes; when I espied a travelling carriage, I felt a presentiment that it contained all I held most dear in the world, and was soon convinced of it.

"We only stopped one day at Verdun, and then removed to Clermont, where we passed some days in perfect happiness. The distance however from Clermont to Verdun was too great for convenience, as the village afforded but few requisites for a family, and I was also frequently called upon in behalf of the prisoners. I therefore procured a lodging at Charni, a little village on the Meuse, about two miles from Verdun, in a most commodious house, with a very respectable family." Of the events of the following year, which was passed in captivity, we can only find any account by referring to the memoranda and notes, out of which the following extracts have been taken.

In reference to Charni, Captain Brenton says, "Our retreat here was a most delightful one, in a spacious mansion belonging to Monsieur de Beaumont, who was of an ancient and noble family. We had an excellent suite of apartments, and the use of an extensive garden. The season of the year was particularly delightful; and every thing for some time conspired to make us enjoy as much felicity as human nature is capable of doing. If I had not entirely forgotten that I was a prisoner, I ceased to feel the pressure of captivity, and was resigned to my lot. An anxious thought of being deprived of the active exercise of my profession would now and then intrude, but it was soon dispelled in the recollection of the happiness I enjoyed. This however received some interruption a short time afterwards, from my health being seriously attacked. I had caught a cold, which in the month of June brought on spitting of blood. I hope the precaution I took of concealing

this alarming symptom from my beloved companion, rendered her apprehensions less dreadful to her; but I allowed my own mind to be extremely depressed. I considered a rapid decline to be the inevitable consequence; and the thoughts of my dear and helpless family, left unprovided for, and unprotected, in a foreign land, and in an enemy's country, preyed upon my spirits with a force that I cannot describe. It is unknown to all but myself, how many hours of dreadful anxiety I suffered on this account, and indeed on my own; for these very feelings prove that I was not prepared for death; that I was but a nominal christian. So blind, and worldly minded I was, that I derived no comfort from the assurances given in every part of scripture, of the mercy and goodness of God. I could not then comfort myself by resigning all I held dear into the hands of that Bountiful Creator, who gave them to me. I felt as though their happiness depended upon my sole exertions; and that without me they must be destitute. It is this way of thinking, this practical want of faith, disguise it as we may, which is the cause of all our anxiety, and even of all the misery we meet with. It could not exist, were we as sensible, as we persuade ourselves we are, of the Omnipotence, and the Omnipresence, and the merciful goodness of God. Often have I tried to reason myself into this firm trust and confidence in the Divine mercy, but the sick bed, the dear disconsolate widow, and the unprotected infant were objects, which with all my efforts, I could not look beyond; and yet, I should have thought the greatest injustice had been done me, if any one at the

time had called in question the sincerity of my religious profession. I felt as though I were living in a general, if not a constant practice of its duties. How little do we know ourselves, till the day of trial comes. I could read treatises upon patience and resignation with the most cordial concurrence in every argument; and even wonder that they were not universally efficacious; but when called upon to practice what they prescribed, I found I was indeed living without God in the world. I did not dare to impart these wretched feelings to my beloved and inestimable wife, in the apprehension of affecting her, and thus I lost the balm of her affectionate counsels.

"The attack which I experienced, would, I am now convinced, have been of little importance, but for the effect I allowed it to have upon my mind. This aggravated its force, and it soon assumed so serious an appearance as threatened to realize all my apprehensions. What a lesson is this for you, my dear children, to teach you the folly as well as the wickedness of worldly anxiety. How often do the evils we dread never reach us; whilst the blow which humbles us comes from a quarter where we least expected it. Even the events, which seem to menace us with some serious calamity, frequently become instruments of good to us. Nearly thirteen years have now elapsed since this period; and instead of the evil I foreboded, my health has probably been strengthened and preserved, by the care and precaution which that illness rendered necessary. It was the cause of my removing from Verdun to the interior of France, to the most delightful climate, where I soon

nearly recovered. All my apprehensions were groundless. I was mercifully preserved to those so justly dear to me, and preserved by a gracious Providence to be the humble instrument of their future welfare.

"It was impossible to enjoy greater advantages than we possessed, in the retired village of Charni, during the summer months; and I avoided the bustle and constant interruption, which I met with at Verdun from various quarters. We had some excellent and valuable friends, in whose society we found much gratification; their habits were similar to our own; with them we lived on terms of the kindest intimacy, and avoided, by having this residence, the necessity of keeping up an intercourse with others who found enjoyment only in society of a very different description. As the autumn however approached, we thought it necessary to remove into Verdun, as Charni was too low for a winter residence. We continued to live in retirement, as my health was too weak to admit of my entering into evening parties, and it was with great difficulty that I could prevail upon my beloved and excellent companion to leave me only for a few hours. Even the change from Charni to Verdun was beneficial to me. The progress I made towards recovery was very apparent, and my mind being consequently relieved, I was in a great measure restored to happiness. The mercy and goodness of God has visited me through life, in a very remarkable manner; and this ought to excite the warmest gratitude, and the most entire resignation to all He should in future require of me.

"One other circumstance at this period occurred most

providentially, which relieved me from much anxiety. My pecuniary circumstances had always been far from affluent. The loss of my ship just fitted out; the necessity of keeping two houses; and the other unavoidable expences of my situation, had exhausted the little which I had made in the late war. At this time I received two sums most opportunely, namely £468, prize money from Genoa, of which I had given up all hopes; and nearly £400 as a remuneration from the Admiralty for the charge I had taken of the prisoners. This materially increased our comforts; but the circumstance derived its chief value in the estimation of my angelic wife, from the effect it produced in tranquillizing my mind. To please and obey her God; to share in, or contribute to the happiness of those dear to her, was the great and invariable object of her life. She thus gave additional charms to prosperity itself, by the delight she took in the joy of all around her: but how often have I felt her sweet influence of still greater value in cheering me under the pressure of adversity.

"In order to re-establish my health entirely, I was anxious to remove into a milder climate; I was also very desirous of procuring a residence for my family, at a distance from the general depôt, where much of the society was very exceptionable, and where we were constantly unsettled, by the multitude of reports daily in circulation, suggested without any foundation by the hopes and fears of our fellow prisoners, or from mere idleness. With this view I solicited permission to pass the winter at Tours. The Minister of Marine, M.

Décrés again stood my friend, and after some delay, in consequence of Buonaparte being at Berlin, he at length succeeded, and informed me in the kindest manner of my request being granted. We made our preparations with almost as much pleasure, as though it had been for a journey to England. I employed myself during the remainder of our stay at Verdun, in concluding all my affairs relative to the prisoners at that depôt. The French government had recently forbidden any further supplies being given to the British prisoners, by their own country; declaring that each nation should support its own prisoners. The fact was, that whilst the Englishmen were so liberally provided for by their own government, there was no hope of inducing them to desert; and all intrigues carried on by the French to seduce them from their allegiance proved fruitless. In consequence of this new arrangement, my presence was no longer necessary at Verdun. I settled all my affairs relative to the prisoners, and this was rendered less complicated by an order recently issued by the French Government, that all supplies sent from England to her people should cease, and each nation support their own prisoners. I had nothing therefore now to do, but to close my accounts previous to my departure. The situation of the prisoners of inferior rank, became in consequence wretched in the extreme. They were now deprived of the comforts to which they had been accustomed; they neither saw nor heard of their officers; they knew nothing of the continued solicitude of their truly paternal government, and of the efforts it had made in their behalf. All

hopes of exchange had died away, and complete despair seemed to have taken possession of the sufferers. Numbers attempted to make their escape, and some few succeeded; but many were intercepted and cruelly treated; whilst additional measures of severity were adopted to prevent further attempts at desertion. All who were taken at this time, were sent off, as close prisoners to the fortress of Bitche, and confined in the dark and gloomy souterrain. It was at this time that Mr. Wolfe, finding that the principal objects of his solicitude, the children, were all removed to the distant depôts, and that none would be permitted to reside at Verdun, came forward in a manner most creditable to himself, as a volunteer to reside at Givet, a depôt in which there were twelve hundred prisoners, but no officers. He was aware that he must deprive his family of all the advantages they possessed of comfort and society at Verdun, and subject them to many privations; but this excellent man did not hesitate, whatever sufferings or inconveniences might await him, to put in execution a resolution which was made in the hope of being instrumental to the temporal and eternal welfare of his suffering countrymen."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE REV. MR. WOLFE, ONE OF THE DETENUS—HEARS OF THE STATE OF THE PRISONERS AT GIVET, AND RESOLVES ON GOING TO RESIDE AMONG THEM—EXTRACTS FROM HIS WORK ENTITLED THE "BRITISH PRISONERS IN FRANCE."

THE name of Mr. Wolfe having been thus introduced, I feel it due to the memory of that faithful and devoted man, to leave for a moment the subject of the present memoir, in order to turn to the labours in which he was associated, and to a work which he voluntarily undertook, in conjunction with his friend, Captain Brenton. Mr. Wolfe, as has been stated, was arrested at Fontainbleau, where he was making a short stay in a tour subsequent to his marriage: and from thence was consigned with the other detenus to the depôt at Verdun. His situation there admitted many alleviations in the captivity to which he was doomed. He found several valuable and agreeable men, the associates of his confinement. He had, as we have seen, opportunities for exercising his ministry; and he must have felt, that though the situation was not one which he would have chosen, it was still one in which he perhaps

had less to regret, than the greater part of those around him. But while he was thus residing at Verdun, the reports which he continually received of the state of the British seamen who were confined at Givet, awoke such feelings of pity in Mr. Wolfe's mind, that he determined in a spirit of self-devotion, as rare as it is admirable, to move with his family to Givet, to take up his residence among them, and to try to forward the means of their improvement by personal exertions. This sacrifice can hardly be appreciated as it ought to be, by those who are ignorant of the condition to which the men were reduced, through their own vices, and the oppression to which they were at the time subjected. Mr. Wolfe's friends remonstrated with him seriously on the danger to which he was exposing himself, and the partner of his exile, by taking up his permanent abode among men, whom despair and suffering had rendered almost ferocious; and whose sole relief seemed to be, making others more wretched than themselves. But he had seen the need to which they were reduced. He had counted the cost, and he decided on a step, which if it involved great personal privation, and some personal danger, was followed by such an amount of blessing as few have been permitted to witness.

On first removing to Givet, he found his countrymen sunk in every kind of abomination, half starved by the dishonesty of the French Commissaries, destitute of every comfort, and in a state of mind which aggravated all their external sufferings. The cruel, and unfeeling policy of the French government at the

time, led them to make the condition of the prisoners as wretched as possible, that they might be the more easily tempted, by the agents employed to seduce them from their allegiance; and the evils of captivity were studiously aggravated by the want of necessary food and covering, that the seamen might be induced to enlist in the French service. This species of treatment falling on minds ill prepared to resist it, had led to a degree of frightful demoralization. Some few were drawn away by the offers made to them, and justified their desertion by the cold and hunger they had suffered. The rest seeing no prospect of release, without employment, and without resource, sought for momentary forgetfulness in intoxication, when liquor could be procured; and then sunk into despondency, and sullen discontent. A more fearful exhibition of human nature it is hardly possible to conceive; and yet into this scene Mr. Wolfe resolved to throw himself; and among men, such as these, he asked, and with some difficulty obtained permission to reside. The result of this noble enterprise of Christian benevolence, of this work and labour of love, should only be given in his own words, and having asked, and obtained the kind permission of her who was his partner in this act of self-devotion, to make this use of his publication, I do not hesitate at borrowing from the work which Mr. Wolfe published in 1830, entitled the "British Prisoners in France," the narrative of the experiment he made, and which from that moment connected him, while life lasted, in affectionate regard with the subject of the present memoir.

"On my arrival at Givet," writes Mr. Wolfe, "I soon discovered that I had undertaken a task of much more difficulty and danger, than I had at all been willing to believe. I found the depôt in the most deplorable state. Both in a moral and physical point of view, it would be difficult to conceive anything more degraded and miserable. And as regards religion, every appearance of it was confined to some twenty methodists, who were the objects of the most painful persecution, and often the innocent cause of the most dreadful blasphemies. For, not content with abusing, and sometimes ill-treating them, the drunken and vicious, more effectually to distress and grieve them, would blaspheme that sacred name by which we are called, and utter their contempt in the most extravagant, and offensive mockery. The bodily privations of the prisoners, and their want of the comforts, and common necessaries of life was equally distressing. The barracks were situated in a narrow pass, between the perpendicular rock of the fortress of Charlemont on the one side, and the river Meuse on the other; and all the space the men had for exercise, was between the building itself and the river, along the side of which was a wall. This slip of ground, not more than ten paces in width, and exposed to the southern sun, was in the heat of summer a complete oven. Yet here they were obliged to walk, except they should stay in a hot room, with sixteen persons crowded into it all the day. In the hospital, the sick were mixed with those of the prisoners of other nations, and were in a shocking state of neglect, and covered with vermin. Not a

single prisoner was allowed to go out into the town; and even the interpreter was accompanied by a gens d'armes. It was almost impossible for any of them to get any thing from their friends, for there was no one to receive it for them; and the little that did come, was subjected to a deduction of five per cent by the marechal des logis. And so great was their distress at that moment, that unable to satisfy the cravings of hunger, they were seen to pick up the potato peelings that were thrown out into the court, and devour them.

"It appears to be the natural tendency of misery and want, to foster vice, and encourage the worst feelings of the human heart; and that effect, in its fullest sense, was produced on this occasion. The little money that was received by the prisoners, instead of being applied to the relief of their wants, and to make them more comfortable in food and clothing, was spent in riot and excess. On these occasions, sailors are, of all other men, most ready to communicate, and never think of to-morrow. And, left, as they were, entirely to themselves, no one caring for their souls, no one having the desire, or the power to restrain them, either by force or by persuasion, in the midst of the real distress which they experienced, the depôt of Givet was, perhaps, at that moment, the most reprobate spot that can be imagined.

"In addition to these discouragements, connected with the field of labour which I had undertaken; I now found, that there were difficulties in my own situation, which would probably involve me in personal danger,

of a very serious nature; or at least, cause me to be sent away to the dungeons of Bitche.

"The Commandant, and those that were under his orders, from the time I arrived at the depôt, viewed me with a very evil eye. They had all a share in the spoil of the poor prisoners; and my interference on their behalf, and the opportunities which I had of detecting their extortions, enraged them exceedingly against me. Whenever I made an attempt, as I frequently did, to put a stop to the exactions upon the money which was sent in to the men; or when any complaint was made of the meat, or the bread, these officers were loud in their threats of denunciations, and of sending me off to Bitche. And for the first two years of my stay in that place, I never went to bed, without the impression upon my mind, that, ere the morning, I might probably be thus suddenly marched off.

"Before I left Verdun, I had been cautioned not to pay any money to the prisoners, which might be remitted to me, either from their friends in England, or from the charitable fund at Verdun, without express permission from the Commandant, a caution which proved most salutary. For, even though I obtained this permission, the marechal des logis came to me the next morning, in a great rage, reproached me with taking away his honest gains, and required me in future to send in the money through him. I complained to the Commandant, who inveighed against

the avarice of this man; but I found that he was either unwilling, or afraid to redress this shameful abuse. And, although I subsequently made many attempts to pay the men their money without this abominable drawback, it was always without effect, and at the risk of being denounced, and sent away from the depôt.

"The exertions which were made, during the long-continued detention of the English prisoners in France, for the relief of such among them as were in want, are known to every one. The sums so raised were contributed by benevolent individuals in London; to whom the collections made throughout the country, for the same charitable purpose, were also forwarded; and by them committed to the care of some of the most respectable persons in the depôt of Verdun, who had formed themselves into a committee for that effect. These gentlemen, who were themselves liberal contributors, dispensed to the necessitous, and sent to the different depôts such relief, as the exigencies of each required. And sometimes, in the hope of more effectually relieving the sufferings of those confined in distant places, individuals from this chief depôt, went to visit them, and even took up their temporary or permanent abode among them.

"At the time these charitable contributions were received at Givet, and the payment to each prisoner was small, though the whole amount was considerable, I went to the commandant, and represented to him the charitable object of the money that was to be distributed; and said, I hoped he would not allow any

deduction to be made from trifling sums, arising from such a source. He said, it would be altogether shameful, willingly gave me the permission to pay it, and granted my further request, that a certain number of the prisoners should be permitted to come into the town once a week, to lay out the money more advantageously, in necessaries for themselves and their fellow prisoners. This was very joyful to the poor men; but, unfortunately, they could not contain their triumph, and boasted, in not very measured terms, that they had at length overcome the marechal des logis. This was sufficient; the Commandant took this excuse for withdrawing the permission; and, before the next weekly pay-day arrived, I received a message from him, that he had a particular reason for desiring that I would not again pay the money myself. I said, that in that case, I would not pay it at all. And for a considerable time I resisted. But surrounded as I was with spies, I could not explain what I was doing to the men. And even if I had, the Commandant knew well, they were too impatient to receive their money, not to submit to the sacrifice, even of the half, if it were required, rather than wait.

"He, also, had his hired friends, not only among the gens d'armes, but among the men themselves, who insinuated to them that it was all my fault that it was not paid.* They sent in a specific message to the

* "I think it was on this occasion, that, one morning, as I was going in, as usual, to early prayers, one of the men who had liberty to come into the town, came to me, and advised me not to go into the prison; for the men were ready to make an attempt upon my life, except I would

Commandant, that they were willing to pay the deduction as usual; and after resisting for, I think, two pay-days, I at length felt that it was wrong any longer to deprive the poor men of a charitable relief so necessary for them, and again submitted to this iniquitous tax.

"The great difficulty of my situation arose from hence. I knew that if I were found, directly or indirectly, opposing, or interfering with the business of the depôt, otherwise than with the consent of the Commandant, and as I was able to work upon his moral feeling, or regard to his character, I should be immediately sent away. I was permitted to go there only as chaplain; and it was evident, from every one else, who could have done anything for the prisoners, having been sent away, that I should not be allowed to stay in any other capacity. Traps were constantly laid for me,* and

promise to send in the money, which he knew I would not do. I, however, went in. The men crowded in a very tumultuous manner, in my way. There was a great buzz and murmur, but no one spoke; and I passed through them, and found my people as devout, and totally unaffected, with the storm that was going forward around them, as if they had been in another atmosphere. As I returned through the passage, still crowded with the perturbators, a man came up to me, and I then made up my mind, that the scene was going to begin. He was, however, only come, as was usual every time I went in, to ask me to do something for him; and I then passed through the crowd more dense and tumultuous than before, without however being accosted by any one. This sort of ebullition, fomented by the Commandant and his people, while I durst not explain myself even to those in whom I had the greatest confidence, occurred two or three times, during my residence at Givet."

* "One evening, when some French persons in the town, were sitting with me, some one desired to speak with me. I went out to him in the

I knew, by examples before my eyes, that if they could find any such interfering to allege against me, they would say to me, as they always did, that the thing I complained of was a shameful abuse. But they would have denounced me, as one of the Commandants afterwards did, as having done something, which they knew the minister of war, without any inquiry would punish by sending me away from the depôt. And as they would be very angry, and their accusation be of a kind which he would consider serious, an order would come down, be put in execution, perhaps in the middle of the night; and without any explanation, or, probably, any one knowing it, till the following morning, I should have been marched from brigade to brigade, to the fortress of Bitche, subject to join company with deserters and criminals, and tied, it might

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ante-room, and he began to state to me, in a voice which must be audible in the room were they were sitting, the ingratitude of the French government towards him, and to request me to communicate to the British Admiralty, a plan which he had discovered, of destroying a whole fleet of ships of war. I simply told him, that I was there as a minister of religion, and could not enter into anything of a military, or political nature.

"At another time, the Count de L, a Flemish nobleman, introduced himself to me, in what way, it does not now occur to me. I had not the least suspicion of him; and even when my French friends cautioned me, I thought they were only angry with him, because he spoke so much against that people and government. Even this circumstance gave me no distrust, because it was common with the Flemings. However, he was so ultra in his remarks, saying that they had scarcely a human countenance, and things equally absurd, that I inclined to the opposite side of the question, and never said anything that could be laid hold of, not from suspicion, but from a cautiousness, which had become habitual."

be, hand to hand with them.* This might have been risked; but in what state would the poor fellows have been left? They would have been reduced to the same miserable condition in which I found them, with the additional oppression which would arise from the angry feeling left upon the minds of the officers who had charge of them. And thus, sound policy, and a conscientious regard to the object for which I was permitted to be at the depôt, the religious instruction and consolation of the prisoners, perfectly coincided. Under any circumstances, I could not have thought a disingenuous conduct right, and must have given up any advantage, or even usefulness, rather than resort to it. But I found that a plain and straightforward course enabled me to be more serviceable to the prisoners. And though, sometimes, I could not help making strong representations to the Commandant, I never worked indirectly, or endeavoured to set the men's minds against him. My general resource was persuasion, and a direct appeal to his conscience, and his *amour propre*, which was particularly his weak side. And with the aid of a very kind and influential French officer in the Engineers, who was always ready to assist me, and favour the prisoners, I was enabled to

* "Dr. Lawmont, the surgeon of the ship commanded by the unfortunate Captain Wright, and who afterwards practised as Physician at Glasgow, obtained permission, about two years after my removal to Givet, to go and reside at that depôt, in the exercise of his profession. He was making the journey on foot, when a party of gens d'armes, who were conducting some felons, overtook him; and in spite of his passport, which he produced, he was strung to them by the hand, and marched to the next brigade. What then would such persons do, under a condemnatory order from the Minister of War."

accomplish more, by this open conduct, than I could have done by means of a more indirect and inimical nature. But it will readily be conceived, that circumstanced as I was, this would often subject me to misrepresentation, and render extreme circumspection necessary.

"In the impossibility of knowing who were in the interest of the Commandant, even among the men themselves, I had but one resource, I suspected nobody, and I trusted nobody. I never explained my views or intentions to any one, and said nothing that required the least secrecy. At one time, therefore, the men, when they could not have what they wished, suspected all was not right; at another when they complained of tyranny and knavery, the agents and subalterns of the Commandant declared, that I was at the bottom of it, and they would soon have me at the dungeons of Bitche; and, at a third, the Commandant himself would be influenced by his people, and suspect me of underhand dealing.*

* Mr. Lee and Mr. Maude visited me at Givet, and went into the hospital with me. I stayed behind to speak to the men, when one of them took the opportunity to go out to them, and say, that he had not received his share of some money which I had obtained for them from Captain Brenton, and which from dishonesty on the part of a person he employed, had not been paid to them. At that moment I came up, and to the great surprise, I suppose, of the man, confirmed all that he had said. I informed them that when the money had been paid, this man was not in the depôt, and did not get his share; and if they would get it for him, I should be very thankful; but having engaged the Captain to pay the money a second time, out of his own pocket, I had not the heart to apply to him a third. This they declined, and each of us gave the man something."

"In the end, however, what was done spoke for itself. The men saw that every means in the power of prisoners, like themselves, were used to prevent them from being oppressed. The Commandant felt that my being there was a great check upon the rapacity and avarice of his people; and they, and often he himself, were excessively enraged. But the moral and religious feeling which was manifested among the men, rendered them so much more peaceful and sober, more satisfied, and even cheerful in their conduct, and so much more faithful to their word and engagements, that I really think he felt it a sort of personal security to himself, and upon the whole, an advantage.

"Thus exposed to many difficulties and personal danders, as to the temporal wants of the poor men; in their spiritual concerns, and those immediately connected with them, I had abundant cause of thankfulness. On my first application for a place of worship, the Commandant expressed his readiness to do every thing in his power. But he had no place at his disposal larger than the ordinary sized room, which would not hold more than two hundred persons. This I obtained for the moment. But the Colonel-director of engineers was then with the army in Germany; and the grenier, the only place sufficiently large for the purpose, could only be obtained by a direct application to him. For the present, therefore, a room perhaps a little larger than the others, where was an oven for the purpose of baking bread for the barracks, was converted into a chapel. A small plain desk was made by one of the men, which served also for a pulpit; and

the clerk made use of a common table and stool. What was wanting however in accommodation, was abundantly made up by the spirit which soon was manifested among the prisoners; and the Lord wrought powerfully among them. The place was crowded to excess, and the oven, which reached so near the top of the room, that the men could not sit upright upon it, was always covered with them, lying in a most painful position from want of room.

"The Schools were also immediately established; and though the funds for all these objects were, at that early period of our captivity, but scantily, and with great difficulty obtained, we were yet able to carry on a system of education, which, for extent, usefulness, and the rapid progress made by those that were instructed, has perhaps seldom been equalled. It is indeed wonderful, at how small an expence, a number of persons, generally amounting to between four and five hundred, were taught to read, write, go through the highest rules in arithmetic, navigation in all its most difficult branches, construct charts and maps, and work at the practical part of their profession, as far as it can be learned from the form of a vessel, which had been admirably rigged for that purpose. Yet the small sums given to those among them, who were capable of instructing their fellow prisoners, as masters or assistants, were very useful.

"The immediate results arising from this employment of their time, were beneficial, in a degree, at least equal to the professional advantages, which they might hope to experience in their future prospects. While

they were thus receiving instruction and edification, their thoughts were diverted from dwelling upon those misfortunes, which had the most pernicious effect and influence upon their minds, not only in a moral and religious point of view, but, often as it regarded their health and spirits. And thus the fear of God, and the influence of moral duty and instruction, even in those who were not decidedly religious, reciprocally acted upon their minds; preserved them from that mental debasement, and those habits of depravity and vice, which are ever contracted and induced by ignorance and want of employment.

"And in the midst of these useful occupations, the Lord opened the hearts of many, to receive that heavenly wisdom, the merchandize of which is better than silver, and the gain thereof than fine gold; without which, all our attainments are nothing worth, and with which all the things we can desire, are not to be compared. The number of boys was comparatively small; the greater number were men grown; and some of those that were advanced in years, were anxious not to lose this opportunity of learning to read, at least, their bibles; to be able to study for themselves those oracles of eternal truth, which are 'able to make men wise unto salvation, through faith that is in Christ Jesus.'

"The hospital was another object of my immediate attention. It is remarkable that this abode of sickness and misery, was also the most abandoned portion of the depôt. In this respect, the remark which I have before made is completely borne out. And here,

where it might have been hoped that the afflicting hand of God, and the constant view of death, would have brought the most wicked to tremble at the thought of judgment, hardened impenitence kept pace with outward misery. And even after their wants were supplied, and every comfort was promised for them, which affliction is susceptible of, the hospital continued to be, with some exceptions, much less under the influence of religious improvement, than any other part of the depôt.

"My first object was to obtain for my countrymen a ward to themselves, separate from the prisoners of other nations. One of the prisoners had already been employed in the joint capacity of interpreter and nurse. He was by birth a Portuguese, but had been many years in the English navy, and spoke English nearly as well as a native. He was however a person in whom I had not the least confidence, was hardened in all the callous and profligate practices of the French nurses, and was evidently in the pay of the Commandant. For the same reason, however, I knew it would be impossible for me to displace him. And, after a vain attempt to do so, I endeavoured to make him as useful as possible; and contented myself with employing another person, and a third, as they were wanted, whom I found best suited to attend the sick, and administer to their comforts.

"It was my anxious wish to find a pious person, who was fit for this affair, and was willing to take the charge, in which there were so many opportunities of usefulness. And at length I succeeded in obtaining

the appointment of one, who would at all times be ready to speak a word in season, to those who might be induced to hear. From this time the poor men were as comfortable as in an English hospital. Extreme cleanliness succeeded to the state of filth in which I had found them; and as wine, and many other things of a cordial, or a nutritious nature, were there abundant, and very reasonable, they had even greater comforts than would have been provided for them at home. And the consequence was, that we had a smaller proportion of deaths, compared with the number of persons present, than is scarcely ever known.

"A better spirit also began to be manifested among the men. The absence of the French nurses, hackneyed in every vice, and hardened amidst the most appalling scenes of sickness, misery, and death, contributed to prevent, in some measure, the abandoned carelessness and unconcern which had been shewn, when those who perhaps had less reason to expect it than themselves, were called before them, to give an account of the things done in the body. At least, they whose sufferings God had sanctified, were not interrupted, as they had been, by the riot and blasphemy of the wicked and impenitent.

"In the mean time, a great sensation was created in the prison; and, as in old time, some mocked, while others, for the first time, saw before them an invisible and eternal world, compared with which all the things they could desire were less than nothing and vanity. There were many among them already, whose hearts the Lord opened, to attend to the things which have

been declared by prophets, and apostles, and confirmed by God, manifest in the flesh. Many were enquiring into the things which accompany salvation; and in many the word of truth took deep root, and they continued seeking the grace of Christ. Nor have I the least reason to doubt, that the Lord fulfilled to many his gracious promise, 'Seek and ye shall find,' and that even now, some have entered into the rest that remaineth for the people of God; and others are still so running that they may obtain.

"The methodist congregation were regular attendants on the service of the Church, and had their meetings night and morning.* They were very useful in the work of God; and now their numbers increased. And soon after my arrival another meeting was formed, of those who from time to time were under the influence of conviction, arising out of, and more immediately connected with the congregation of the Church. As my own views, at the period of my arrival at Givet, were by no means clear, it will readily be understood, that these persons did not see at once all the riches of the grace of God. Still their hearts were opened, and they 'followed on to know the Lord.'

"There were, as might be expected, discussions and disputes between the two classes, and among each other. These I endeavoured to allay, and encourage among them a single eye to Christ. The work of God proceeded more rapidly than my most sanguine hopes

* They were not all Wesleyans; but of that persuasion, jointly with those that hold the Calvinistic tenets.

could have anticipated. And one or other of the men were frequently receiving letters from their fellow-prisoners in other depôts, saying, that they heard the Lord was among them, and expressing a hope that the influence might be felt amongst themselves. The change was also soon visible in the lives and moral conduct of the men; and was recognized, as I have observed, by the Commandant and all who had to do with them. Formerly they could only be restrained by force, and bolts and bars were the only means of keeping them safely; and they constantly broke through them; but now, bolts and bars were unnecessary. The Commandant was persuaded, and acted entirely upon that persuasion, that the only thing that could bind them, was the moral obligation of their word; which, whether given or implied, they never broke, in any instance that came to my knowledge.

"Nor was this confined to them that feared God. The moral influence of Christianity spread through the whole body, and the most striking instances of faithfulness to their word, and a sense of the obligation of it, were given by the prisoners. And it was not officers or people of education who thus distinguished themselves; but common sailors, and youngsters, who might have been expected to view the breach of their parole only as a joke. So that it was considered as a national feeling, and raised the character of the English in that country extremely.*

* "General Monleau, who would willingly have ordered the death of half a dozen English in the mere hope of gratifying the Emperor, was complaining in a large party one evening, of the total impossibility of

"This conduct had also the happiest effect upon the comfort of the men. Previous to my arrival they had by degrees been all confined to the prison; those who had been permitted to come out, having conducted themselves ill, or run away. And at length, not one prisoner, without excepting even the interpreter, was permitted to come out without a guard, under any pretext.

"I began by getting one out, and then a second, and a third person, for my own service, and as interpreter; then some others in whom I had most confidence. The good behaviour of these men, encouraged the Commandant to give liberty to others. The number of those who had permission to reside in the town, or to work and walk out of the prison, increased daily; and at length, so complete was his confidence in them, that he allowed many of them to walk out into the country; and there were often as many as two hundred out of the prison at a time.

"And now, the director of engineers, who had also the fortifications under his direction, returned from the German campaign. I made immediate application to him for what was wanted for the comfort and accommodation of the depôt; and on this occasion, as on all others, he willingly listened to our wishes, and did more than we asked.

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keeping the English midshipmen; and saying, that he had put them in the strongest dungeons in vain. 'Je vous indiquerai, general,' said a lady in company distinguished for her talents, 'un moyen sur.' The general was all ears. 'Mettez les sur leur parole, les Anglois sont esclaves de leur parole d'honneur'"

"There was a part of the court which surrounded the barracks, about the size of that which lay between the building and the river. This was on the north side of the prison, and was comparatively cool, from the shade afforded by the building; when, on the other side, the heat from the southern sun, and the reflection from the walls, was almost intolerable. But there was no palisade, on the side of the road to prevent the escape of the prisoners. There was a sufficient number of these for the purpose, among the stores belonging to the fortification; and I offered, out of the funds sent me by the committee at Verdun, having previously consulted them, to defray an expence so essential to the health and comfort of the men, which was estimated at fifteen pounds.

"This proposal the director immediately forwarded to the Bureau de la guerre, and received an immediate permission to grant us this accommodation; which he lost no time in completing. But when I came to pay the expence, I was agreeably surprised to find, that he had represented to the minister the inconsistency that there would be in allowing this expence to be borne by individuals; and he would not hear of my paying a farthing. I then applied to him for a large grenier, which was the only place sufficiently capacious for the purpose of divine worship. This again required some expense, and was attended with some difficulties. The colonel, however, made none. He gave immediate orders to the person who supplied bread for the barracks, to whom he had given this place as a storehouse, to empty it of the stores which he had laid up in it,

and give up the key. And now the only fault that we had to find, was the reverse of that which we had before complained of. The place would have held several thousand persons; and being very low and unceiled, the heat in the summer was excessive, and the winter's cold was not less severe. The men, however, did not complain; they were seeking the glory that shall be revealed, to which the light afflictions of the present, which are but for a moment, are not to be compared.

"We were now enabled to meet together in as large numbers as would; and as many as were so inclined, had full power of seeking, in the ordinances of God, and the hearing of the word, the grace which bringeth salvation. And they were not backward in availing themselves of the means which were thus offered to them. I was very anxious that they should not come there under any feeling of constraint, or for filthy lucre's sake; that they should understand that it would be no advantage to them, as to the loaves and fishes. Yet the congregation increased; and there were few intances of those that had begun to run well, looking back, or returning into the way of carelessness and sin.

"Some of those who had never been received by baptism into the church of Christ, were anxious to receive this pledge of their profession. It was an affecting sight, to see the jetty natives of the East desiring, like the Ethiopian convert of old, to profess their faith in a crucified Saviour; and while they manifested already in their lives the grace that sanctifieth, receiving with desire of heart, the outward sign and

pledge of the faith that was in them. But the Lord's Supper was a still more joyful proof and evidence of the work which He was carrying on amongst these people. I shall never forget the first sacrament, which I administered in the barracks. The number of communicants was about fourteen, most of them old men. The greater part had never before attended at the holy table. Some, perhaps, had never been in a place of worship in their lives, until my arrival at the depôt. They could not contain their feelings, and most of them were in tears the whole of the time. It was a godly sorrow, working repentance unto salvation, not to be repented of.

"But the number of communicants did not long continue so small. It increased daily, as a sense of religion prevailed, and the seed of grace took root in their hearts. The spirit of enquiry was general, and hundreds were seeking. The table of the Lord was more numerously attended every month; and I was enabled there to attend to the instructions of the rubric in a way that is scarcely practicable in a large parish at home. In cases of baptism the sponsors were persons of decided piety.

"The persons who attended the Lord's table, in the latter part of my stay at the depôt, amounted to above two hundred; and it cannot but be supposed, that amongst so many, there were some who, to say the least of it, must be considered very weak christians. But they were all professing to be serious; and there were none among them, as I believed, of that formal description so common among the communicants in

England, who attend this sacrament because they think it decent, or that they are doing some good thing, that they may have everlasting life.

"Still there are, no doubt, those who have flying convictions, even of a very lively description, for a moment; many of whom, when they have heard the word, immediately receive it with gladness, and when temptation or affliction cometh, are as immediately offended, and have no part nor lot with them that shall be saved. I therefore required them to give in their names beforehand, that I might enquire into the consistency of their lives, if there were any whom I did not know; and exhort those whom I had any doubt of, or refuse them, if I thought them altogether unfit.

"There was but a single instance of one coming, who had not given this previous notice. I observed the man amongst the rest, and was surprised. I had seen him very constant at church, but I had had no direct intimation of his seriousness, and was in doubt of him: I therefore went up to him, to ascertain, at least, whether he was prepared to receive the sacrament with consciousness, of the body and blood of Christ. He was a man of extreme simplicity of mind and manners; but answered in such a way, as immediately to convince me, that he was not only desirous of shewing the Lord's death until he come, but instantly serving God day and night. And from that time, I know not that he was ever absent from any of the appointed means of grace, whether on the Lord's day or any other; and in life, as in profession, was a decided and consistent Christian.

"Such was the state of this Christian community, and so changed in a few short months was this numerous depôt, in which there were, sometimes, as many as 1500 prisoners. Formerly there was not a room, out of a number, sometimes exceeding ninety, where a man could have gone down on his knees to prayer. The consequences to him of such an attempt would have been profane abuse, or even serious personal violence. Now there was not one room, in which there were not pious men; and quiet and peace prevailed towards them, even on the part of those who did not themselves profess the truth.

"I remember an observation from Mr. Lee, when he went with me through the barracks, and into all or most of the rooms. 'This,' said he, 'is a most extraordinary thing. I have been through a depôt of 1500 sailors, and not seen one drunken man!' And the influence of their example was felt more or less, in a religious point of view, throughout all the depôts, in all which one or other of them had friends, with whom they were in habits of correspondence.

"But it may well be supposed that Satan did not view these things with indifference. The tares were soon sown among the wheat, and in time they grew up together. The first instrument in the hand of the enemy, was a defection among the men, by going over to the French; in which, however, those that professed religion distinguished themselves in a very honourable manner. I had found, that on two or three occasions, an Irish officer, who was in the French service, (whose name I do not mention, in the hope that he may have

repented of a course so disgraceful, and that it may have been overlooked by a generous country,) had been in the prison; and by bribery, and by giving them liquor, had each time induced some of the men to go with him into the French service. To have interfered personally in this matter, it may well be supposed, would have been a sure way of my being removed from the depôt. I, however, spoke to the Commandant on the subject of the youngsters; and, appealing to him as a father, requested that he would not allow any of them to take a step which would be their ruin; however much they might wish it, in order to recover their liberty. And this he readily promised, and shewed indeed a desire to do.

"Some time after this, I was preparing to go into the neighbourhood of Sedan, where Colonel D'Ivory, who commanded the engineers in the English army in Portugal, was then residing. I was very desirous of visiting a congregation of French Protestants in that town; and accepted an invitation from the Colonel to stay a few days with him. Before I set off I found that the Franco Irish officer had again appeared at the depôt, and prevailed upon two or three of the men to go with him. I, therefore, went to the Commandant and said, that I waited upon him again, before I set off, to remind him of his promise respecting the youngsters. He assured me that none of them should go; and said, that there was not much to be apprehended, for the men took his liquor and laughed at him.

"My journey was not satisfactory, except as regarded the extreme hospitality and kindness of my host, and the pious and almost protestant conversation

of Madame D'Ivory. Her health was exceedingly delicate, and she was unequal to exertion. And she spent her time in religious exercises and prayer; while she administered to the wants, and her maid even dressed the wounds of the poor around her. I could not but exclaim, 'O si sic omnia!' and lament the errors of her faith, and the almost ridiculous, if they had not been destructive, superstitions of persons about her. *

How different was the case where I hoped to find religion in its purest simplicity! At the protestant temple I found the scriptures being read to literally empty benches; there was not one person present. At length the congregation began to come in, and the clergyman arrived. He preached a moral discourse; and seeing I was a stranger, and a minister, he very kindly asked me to dinner. I accepted, in hope of hearing something better in the evening. But the work of God was ended. I waited impatiently for

* One day at dinner we were speaking of the final condemnation of sinners. The brother of Colonel D'Ivory who had been in the army, and was certainly a clever and intelligent man, said, 'he did not understand how it could be possible for a priest to go out of the world in a state of condemnation.' 'Sir,' said I, 'did I understand you right? suppose he were a wicked man?' 'Mais oui, Monsieur, á tel moment que ce soit, il pent se confesser!'

At another time, I was laughing with a very sensible officer, who had been in the English army, at ignorant persons, who thought that any thing which had touched a certain image in that neighbourhood, was a preservative against the bite of a mad dog; when he took a silver ring from his finger, and said, 'how then do you think I have been preserved from being bit all these years, but by this ring, which has been rubbed against the image?'

evening service, but at length I found, that that rich and rather numerous congregation, was left to spend the rest of the Lord's day in eating, drinking, and being merry. And I returned much disappointed and grieved.

"My kind host indeed had spoken slightly of this minister, and as the day was extremely bad, and the rain incessant, earnestly dissuaded me from riding four miles through very bad roads to Church. But I had attributed this partly to prejudice, and was determined at least to judge for myself. He however made particular enquiry, and afterwards wrote me word, that he thought it necessary to caution me against this minister, as he had had positive information, that he was deeply implicated in the revolution. I am indeed compelled to confess, that more than one of the protestant ministers whom I had met with, were not without some imputation, from the part they acted during that unhappy period. And a very general spirit of Socinianism, to say the least of it, prevailed at that time among the protestants of France. I have heard with much pleasure, that a great revival of religion has since taken place amongst them; and have been rejoiced to hear the decided sentiments which have been expressed by some of their ministers, at public meetings in this country.

"Returning to Givet, I was very much astonished to meet on the way, two or three considerable parties of our men. They passed me with downcast looks, and shame was strongly painted in their countenances; and I dared not speak to them, not doubting of the

fact, and knowing that the consequence could only have been evil, without the least hope of good. When I arrived, I found that the men were so bent upon going into the French service, that it seemed as if a sort of infatuation had taken possession of them. And although I was persuaded that the object of the greater part of them was, to run away, and get home; yet they were in the mean time becoming traitors to their country, and exposing themselves, if they were taken, to capital punishment.

"In every point of view, therefore, it was most earnestly to be desired that this might be put a stop to. But how it was to be done was a far more difficult question. There were many reasons, both of right and policy, which engaged me to look on, as if I were totally indifferent; and the consequence of my not doing so, would probably have been, my being sent away; as a clergyman had already been, from one of the depôts, for only speaking to the men on the subject. I however thought that this was a case in which every thing was to be risked. This officer, I found, had taken lodgings in the town, had got many men every day, and had declared, that Christmas was coming on, and he should then have half the barracks. I went up, therefore, the next morning, to church as usual; and after the service I spoke to the people on the subject. It was a remarkable thing, that not one of those who professed religion had thought of going, with the exception of one man; who, when I spoke to him, said, 'that he was not an Englishman but an American;' and though he would not do any thing inconsistent with his

profession, he could not think that he was bound to remain in prison, for a cause which was not that of his country.

"I told them, therefore, that I had not the least apprehension of any of them entering into the service of the enemy; but that they were called to use their influence with their fellow prisoners, and it was their duty to employ every possible means to prevent others from doing a thing so wicked, and disgraceful to them as Englishmen. They said, that they had not only used persuasion, but force; but that the madness was so great, that whilst a party of them were standing at the gate to prevent desertion, one at a time would take the opportunity, when any one was coming in, and run past them, before they could stop them. They all, however, set to work in earnest; and from this time there were not more than one a day, for the two or three days before Christmas; and I believe two or three of the loose ones on Christmas day; and immediately after this the officer went away.*

* "One day, previous to his departure, I was sitting in my room writing, when a gentleman was shewn in, dressed in the most elegant French uniform I had, perhaps, ever seen. Not having the least idea who it was, I bowed to him, and spoke to him in French. To my great astonishment, he answered in English, that, 'understanding there would, probably, come some money for some of the men who were gone into the French service, he should be much obliged to me if I would forward it.' I answered, I fear rather too angrily, 'that I should certainly send the money back.' 'Then, sir,' said he, 'I have done my duty, and you will do yours.' 'I do not know, sir,' I answered 'what your notions of duty may be; but certainly, I shall not fail to do mine.' He bowed, with extreme confusion marked in his face, and hastily went away."

"On this occasion, I ought to make honourable mention of the midshipmen who were at the depôt. A number of them were sent thither some time previous to this circumstance; and they shewed an extraordinary zeal to prevent the men from betraying their country. Mr. B. then a youngster, about seventeen, full of zeal for the service in which he was engaged, copied, and put up in the prison, in spite of gens d'armes and spies, a dialogue which I wrote out, shewing them in their own quaint expressions, what they might expect from the enemy, into whose service they were enlisting; and the rest were very active and useful in preventing this defection. Of these young gentlemen I can say nothing in a religious point of view; except it be of Mr. T., who was very peculiar in his manner; but, I trusted, and yet believe, was decidedly serious. But their conduct, as regarded their service and profession, was so distinguished, and reflected so much credit upon them, that it ought not to pass unnoticed.

"They were so anxious to get home, and so ingenious and bold in facing every danger and difficulty, which stood in their way, that every expedient to prevent them was in vain. It was for this cause that some of them were sent from Verdun to Givet; and the Commandant took every precaution that he could think of, to inform himself of their plans, so as to prevent their escape. Amongst other things, he opened all their letters before he allowed them to be sent into the prison, where they were closely confined; while numbers of the common men had the liberty of the town.

After eight of them had escaped, and been retaken; and at the moment when he was most alarmed, and on the *qui vive;* a letter arrived for Mr. B. from his mother. The Commandant had no doubt, from the natural affection of a mother, that it was to urge him to get home; and perhaps to point out and furnish him with the means, for himself at least, if not for others also. But when it was read to him, he could not contain his astonishment and admiration, and spoke of it to every body.

"Lady B., though I have not the honour of knowing her, and am ignorant if she be in this militant state, I have some reason to believe, was a person of decided piety. But however that be, for I did not myself see her letter, it shewed a strength of mind and principle, not common to the gentle nature and indulgent feelings of a mother. She had heard that in some of the depôts, there had been midshipmen who had broken their parole, and come home. And she entreated her son not to let any personal suffering, or ill treatment, or example induce him to do what would disgrace himself, distress his family beyond measure, and cast a reflection upon his country. Young as he was however, no officer grown old in the career of British service, had less need of the pious and self-denying counsel of such a mother. He and some others afterwards escaped, in the most honourable manner, after having been once re-taken; though he himself might perhaps even then have succeeded, but that he would not leave behind him, a brother midshipman, who had lamed himself on the journey; and thus, after two attempts,

and through dangers and difficulties which might have overcome the courage even of a British sailor, they arrived at home.

"But this letter, together with the strict observance of a given or even implied parole, on the part of all the prisoners, even to the lowest amongst them, so raised the character of the English at Givet, that the Commandant was quite persuaded, that they were most in safety when they were most in the enjoyment of liberty. Many of the men therefore were permitted to work in the town, and were much sought after by those who wanted workmen or servants; and a great number walked out into the town, and even into the country every day. But though they were constantly escaping from the prison, they never betrayed the confidence placed in them. The midshipmen were now all allowed their parole; and shewed themselves as worthy of it, as established officers.

"One circumstance, indeed, of a very lamentable description, ought not perhaps to be passed over. Two of these young gentlemen, Mr. H. and Mr. G. went out, accompanied by one of the gens d'armes, before they obtained their parole; and while the soldier was occupied, they got away and escaped. They were hid during the whole day in the souterrain of a fortified mountain, on the other side of the river. In the evening however they became alarmed. They thought they heard something like the noise of a horse shaking himself; and immediately after the name of Mr. H. called out loudly; and this repeated three times. They left the place, and in their fears wished, perhaps,

rather to be retaken than not. An unhappy Englishman, in the pay of the Commandant, saw them coming down the hill, and instantly informed the gens d'armes from whom they had escaped. This man had been drinking all day; and setting out after them, filled with rage, he soon overtook them, and cut down Mr. H. who died immediately, and wounded Mr. G.

"This murder was savagely exulted in by the General, and shamelessly excused by the Commandant. The latter, however, was there only for a short time; but this circumstance, as may be supposed, made much ill feeling in the depôt. The midshipmen wrote a spirited note to the Commandant. The prisoners would have taken summary vengeance upon the spy, had he not been taken out of their hands, and kept out of prison. I thought it my duty to withhold from him every assistance given to the rest of the prisoners. The Commandant insisted on its being paid, but I refused. He then denounced me to the Minister of War, as assisting the midshipmen to escape; but at that period, I was not unknown by character to the Minister, and it happened providentially, that the former Commandant, was at that moment in Paris, returning to Givet; and thought it for his interest, knowing that I was now zealously supported by Colonel Flayelle, and some other persons of influence, to assist me; and our treacherous Commandant was, to our great gratification, soon removed.

"Even here there was no breach of parole. But shortly after the return of the Commandant, three of the young gentlemen gave a proof of adherence to that

pledge, which would reflect credit upon officers even of rank in the army or navy. Their friends had now been some time gone away, and had arrived at home, and they began to regret that they had not gone with them. They came to me, to ask me to give them money for their bills upon their friends, which I did, asking them of course no questions. The same evening they conducted themselves in such a manner, as, they were persuaded, would cause the Commandant to take away their parole. But he suspected what they were meditating, and refused to put them in prison. The next night they made a more determined attempt; but still in vain, he would not take away their parole. Precisely at that moment, as if to try their faith to the utmost, an order arrived from the Minister of War to send all the Midshipmen, under a double escort of gens d'armes, to Verdun. But in spite of this positive order, the Commandant took upon himself to send them upon their parole. And they walked all the day to that place without the least idea of escaping; although all the soldiers in France would scarcely have prevented them from making the attempt.

"We had now done with the midshipmen. On some occasions they gave us considerable anxiety, as might readily be expected by those who know what young persons of that age are, even under the restriction of a school. They were ready on every occasion to crowd every sail, which the ebullition of animal spirits, and elevated national feeling, and exalted notions of the British navy could give them, without the ballast of matured judgment and experience; when they felt

that their enemies exulted over them, or oppressed the poor fellows. And their interference in behalf of the men was often calculated to do harm instead of good. But I feel it incumbent upon me to give this testimony to the distinguished conduct of these young persons in a point of view, in which they raised the British character in that place; and that they did what they could, to stir up in the minds of the men that sense of allegiance to their king and country, which time and absence had begun to extinguish.

"The sufferings which some of the midshipmen endured in their successful attempts to return and fight the battles of their country, have in some instances been published; but in many they might almost seem incredible, if we did not know what high professional feelings may effect, when combined with the ardor and enterprize of youth.

"It would give me exquisite pleasure, if I should hear that any of these young men who dared so much, and bore so much, to regain the opportunity of distinguishing themselves in their country's cause, are now fighting with equal boldness the good fight of faith in the service of the Kings of Kings. In that case they will not go without their reward.

"I would not forego the hope, that though little notion can be formed on this side of the water of the situation of the prisoners in France; particularly when their sufferings were embittered by the sense that they were cut off from all opportunities of distinguishing themselves in their country's service; many may have received marks of favor, specially on account

of what they had to bear in their captivity. Of this however I am ignorant, as with the exception of a short letter of greeting from Mr. B. some time ago, and one from Mr. H. after his return, I have lost sight of these young men ever since they left the depôt."

CHAPTER IX.

JOURNEY TO TOURS, INCIDENTS ON THE ROAD AND RESIDENCE THERE.

I FEEL that no apology need be made to the readers of this Memoir for the length of the digression which occupied the last Chapter. The history of Sir Jahleel Brenton is identified with the service of his country; and a very inadequate idea would be formed of the perils undergone, and the hardships endured in that service, if the storm and the battle were the only circumstances recounted; and the sickening length of a dreary captivity, embittered by ill treatment, and hardly cheered by hope, was not to be named among the evils that were braved and borne by the navy during the last war.

Had the excellent friend, from whose deeply interesting narrative I have extracted this notice of the state of things at Givet, been spared; I might have calculated with equal confidence on his indulgence, when the character of Sir Jahleel Brenton, and the interests of his family were to be asserted; and it is a source of

satisfaction to myself to be able to draw attention to one of the most touching and affecting memorials of God's mercy to men, which have been recently published.

From causes which it is not easy to explain, the narrative which bears the title of the "British Prisoners in France," never seems to have met with the acceptance which it deserves; for of all the cases where the grace of God has been exhibited in a large and general measure, where it seems to have descended as in showers, none seem to have exceeded this in the simplicity of the means used, and in the extent of the blessing vouchsafed. The depôt which Mr. Wolfe found like a howling wilderness, he left like a garden of the Lord; but few persons can conceive the difficulties with which he had to struggle, or the value of the assistance which he derived from Sir Jahleel Brenton's co-operation.

The object which he had in view was accomplished. His labour was not in vain in the Lord; but it is painful and yet salutary to hear of the way in which these disinterested exertions and self devotion were acknowledged at home. The moral influence which was exercised on the people at Givet prevented desertion, and probably preserved hundreds of valuable seamen for the service of their country. The schools, which were established at the same time for the boys, rescued them from the evils of ignorance, and prepared them to resume their place in the navy, instructed in the theory and practice of navigation. Had this not been done, all the prisoners, both old and young, would have returned from their captivity unfit for employment, and burdens to the

country which received them; and the nation owed to Mr. Wolfe and his companion in labour, a debt which might have justified any mark of public gratitude. An effort was made to obtain for him the amount of a chaplain's pay during the period of his residence at Givet; and after long delay and many applications this was granted. It is happy for those who labour for the public good, to look to a different remuneration than that which man affords. There is one Master who knows what his servants do, and who never allowed the least or lowest effort to go without its reward; and he who labours in faith feels it his privilege to think little of the recompense he may receive from men.

The Memoir may now be continued in Sir Jahleel's own words, and he thus describes the journey to Tours. "On the 31st of October we began our journey, having our route marked out upon my passport, by which we were prohibited from passing through Paris, but ordered to turn off to the left at Meaux, and to proceed by Melun, and Fontainebleau, thence on the right bank of the Loire from Orleans to Tours."

At Melun it appears that Captain Brenton met Lord Elgin, to whose character he gives the following pleasing tribute. "It is but justice to Lord Elgin to mention in this place, that during the whole of his captivity he was most liberal and active in relieving his poor countrymen, as they passed near the places of his residence, and by sending sums of money to Verdun for their use. Whilst he was at Orleans, numbers of seamen on their way from the coast to the interior, passed through; in particular the officers and crew of the

Wolverine, who all spoke in the highest terms of his Lordship's humanity and benevolence."

It was from Lord Elgin at Melun that Captain Brenton had the gratification of receiving confirmed and authentic accounts of the battle of Trafalgar. At Orleans, November, 1805, Sir Jahleel has preserved the following recollections of his journey. "This was one of the finest and most charming days we had experienced; the country gradually improving in fertility, and cultivation, as we approached the Loire, which in its passage by Orleans, with the numerous villas on its banks as far as the eye could reach, formed as fine a picture as can be imagined. At Epernay, the chief depôt for the wine of Champagne, I called upon Mons. Moet, the great proprietor of this wine. We were all most hospitably received and entertained by this gentleman. In conversation at table respecting the use of Champagne in cookery, Madame Moet observed, that she believed there was not a dish in the first course, in which this wine was not an ingredient, that the ham was boiled in it, and every other dish had its portion. At breakfast the following morning I observed that Champagne was not forgotten even in this meal. The Lady replied that she believed it was in every thing but the coffee. This was of course a Dejeuner a la fourchette, and a very sumptuous one. By the time breakfast was over, the carriage was at the door for us to resume our journey; but M. Moet requested me to pay a visit to his cellar, before I left Epernay; and the sight amply rewarded me for the detention. It was of immense extent, the wine entirely in bottle, to

the amount I believe of some hundreds of thousands, beautifully arranged in tiers, with marble conductors, leading to reservoirs of the same material, to carry off and receive the wine from the bottles which burst, a circumstance of very frequent recurrence. On returning from the cellar I found the ladies were already in the carriage, and it was with difficulty I could find a place for myself, in consequence of the packages of the very best champagne which M. Moet had caused to be placed there. We left Epernay with a very strong impression of the kindness and hospitality we had received. In the afternoon we reached Meaux, where we were to pass the night; and on going down to order dinner, my host received me with a broad grin, and the following sentence: "Ah monsieur, vous venez de nous rosser un peu sur mer, d'aprés les nouvelles." Captain—"Cela se peut bien." Landlord—"Oui, mais vous nous avez pris 21 Vaisseaux de ligne." Captain—"Bah! vous voulez dire 21 batimens marchands." Landlord—"Non Monsieur. Vingt et un vaisseaux de ligne, bien comptès—mais vous avez perdu Nelson. Il est tué." This was the first intelligence I had received of the battle of Trafalgar, which however had taken place only on the 21st of October, and this was on the 4th of November. I did not altogether credit mine host's news, and left Meaux the following morning. On my arriving at Melun, about two o'clock, I met Lord Elgin, who was then residing there as a detenu, who confirmed the news of a great naval victory having been gained, and the report that Lord Nelson had fallen; "but," added his lordship, "I am in

hourly expectation of news from Paris, and as you only go as far as Fontainebleau to night; I will, as soon as I get my letter, ride over, and dine with you; an offer that I gladly accepted. Accordingly his lordship came by five o'clock, with every particular of the action, at least as far as the French account went, which was surprisingly accurate. It was an account sent by merchants at Cadiz, through Bourdeaux to Paris. A very different statement was soon after concocted for the information of the French nation, in the columns of the Moniteur. One of Mr. Moet's best bottles was opened for Lord Elgin upon this occasion, and our spirits felt all the triumph of our country. I copied an account of this battle from the Journal de Paris 16 Frimaire An xiv. 7 Dec. 1805, which my brother has inserted in his naval history.

"From Fontainebleau we proceeded through Pithivier to Orleans. At this place I was amused at the inscription over the inn where we alighted;

ICI L'ON DONNE A BOIRE ET A MANGER
AUX ANGES
A PIED ET A CHEVAL,

and it was at this inn that I determined to give up a practice, which every Frenchman, and by far the greater part of the English travellers considered as indispensable; that of making a bargain with the landlord previous to getting out of the carriage. The instant the question was put to mine host at Pithivier, his manners changed at once, and he sulkily replied, "c'est suivant comme vous voulez etre servis." A hard

bargain was made accordingly, for the dinner, "la chambre," the beds, the fuel, and the wine. The treaty being concluded, we took possession of our apartments. A fire was made of light brushwood, which was soon consumed, and on application for more, we were told that they had given the stipulated allowance. The dinner was bad, scanty, and ill dressed, the bed rooms were uncomfortable, and the wine of the most indifferent description, but there was no redress. We arrived early on the following day at Orleans, and having no preliminary discussion we were cordially received, had the best accommodation, and fare in abundance, and of the best quality; while the difference in the bill the following morning was only six francs amongst four people.

"We remained here during Sunday, and met some of our fellow prisoners from Verdun, the family of Mr. Aufrere. From this gentleman I procured further details of the battle of Trafalgar, even to a list of the killed and wounded on both sides. The intelligence had been brought from Cadiz, through Madrid and Bayonne, in a mercantile correspondence, but was carefully concealed from the public in general. It is certain that the respectable classes of people in France, by no means took that lively degree of interest in their national successes, or felt that mortification for the unsuccessful results of their engagements with the enemy, which have been ascribed to them at this period; and the reason is, that under so ambitious a leader, they were aware that every victory excited

some new object for achievement, in consequence of which new conscriptions were called out, as well to supply recent losses, as to form additional corps. They consoled themselves under a defeat, in the hope that it might lead to a peace."

Among his recollections of Tours, Captain Brenton says, "we here found an excellent and worthy friend and physician, in Dr. Morgan, who had been our fellow prisoner at Verdun. He with his amiable wife and little boy, had been permitted to reside here. From his skill, and the kindness and attention of his family we derived the greatest comfort and benefit. The illness of our darling boy (he had been taken ill on the road) continued for some days to be very alarming; but was at length permitted by a merciful Providence to give way to the remedies which were administered to him, and he began to shew symptoms of returning health."

In addition to the services of Dr. Morgan, it appears that Captain Brenton had also great advantages in the skill of Dr. now Sir Thomas Grey. "Under his tender care," he says, "I had been while at Verdun, and this gentleman, with his wife and daughter, were amongst the number of the detenus, and whilst at Verdun our families had become much attached to each other. I candidly detailed these circumstances in a letter to the Minister of Marine, expressing how much I should feel gratified, if this family might also be permitted to reside at Tours; as I knew this to be their wish. This request was kindly and readily granted, and in the

course of a few weeks our two families were again united at Tours, and no day passed, without our enjoying each other's society.

"An occasional gloom would sometimes take possession of me, as I considered myself shut out from my profession, for which, ever since my first entrance into it, I had felt an inexpressible ardour. One evening, when walking the room with Dr. Grey, I said, I felt a conviction that I was a prisoner for the remainder of the war, and that my naval career was at an end. He replied, 'Don't give way to such feelings; how do you know, but that you may be exchanged, have the command of a fine frigate, and take a prize before another year is over.' I answered smiling, 'if that should be the case, Doctor, I promise to give you the Encyclopedia Britannica.' And impossible as it seemed to be at the moment, the Doctor did get that work upon these conditions before the year expired.

"We had procured most comfortable lodgings in the principal street of Tours, and began to enjoy the happiness we had promised ourselves. We had perfect tranquillity, no annoyance from the police, or the department for the controul of prisoners of war. I was only expected to present myself before the General once in three weeks, and had unrestrained access to every part of the province. Another attack, however, similar to what I had experienced at Charni, again filled me with anxiety, and by having recourse to low diet, I became extremely reduced. The mercy and forbearance of God, notwithstanding my ungrateful repining, nevertheless brought me through this illness

also. How often have my apprehensions thus proved vain; and, in how many instances had perfect happiness been my lot, but for my own groundless fears, which prevented my enjoyment of it. What a lesson for the remainder of my days! May they at least be devoted unreservedly, and with the most entire and perfect confidence to God, in resignation to the Divine will; and let us, my darling children, in all our worldly anxieties, remember the following beautiful lines in Young:—

> "What can preserve my life, or what destroy?
> An angel's arm can't snatch me from the grave,
> Legions of angels can't confine me there."

O, that this blessed, this most inestimable truth, could but be for ever on our minds! To what state of happiness should we be instantly transported, and upon how sure a foundation it would stand! We should smile at the worst efforts of the world, and we should weep with delight, as well as grief, at the translation of those dear to us, to a region of everlasting happiness. The measure of human faith is probably seldom suffered to arrive at such a height, lest it should deprive us of all interest in the world, and fill us with impatience for the next."

On the 16th of January, 1806, Mrs. Brenton gave birth to a daughter, the one who is so constantly addressed in these notes. Of this period the following record is preserved. "By the blessing of God, my beloved companion's health was soon restored, and the sweet addition to our little family, was a new source of

gratitude, and happiness. How familiar to my recollection are the scenes of that delightful period. My own anxieties were now fast wearing away, or only intruded themselves as the unfavourable symptoms of ill health recurred, which was very seldom. The confirmed health of our darling boy was more apparent every day, and he now became peculiarly engaging, and interesting. Although but three years old, he gave evident signs of great capacity, and we rather checked, than stimulated the inclination towards learning, which he very decidedly possessed even at that early age.

"Tours lying on the great road from Bordeaux, Passage, and Rochefort, to the depôt of the prisoners, we had frequent detachments of our unfortunate countrymen marching through. Early in the year the officers and crews of H. M. ships the Calcutta, and Ranger, together with those of the Belle Packet, which had been captured by the Rochefort squadron, under Admiral Allemande, arrived at Tours, on their march to the depôt of Verdun and Arras, to which they were destined. They were all confined in the common prison, as they had been indiscriminately marched under the same escort, without any respect being paid to the rank of the officers, however high. The landlord of the principal inn at Tours, called upon me late in the evening, to inform me they had just reached the prison, concluding that I would make an application for the officers to be liberated on their parole. That *mon hote* was not entirely disinterested, came out, upon our way to the General's house together. "Monsieur,'

said he, "il ne faut pas seulement penser a soi. Il y'a d'autres Aubergistes à Tours, qui voudroient avoir de vos Messieurs chez eux. Je vous prie donc de me consigner *vingt des* plus riches, et que les autres soient partagés parmi mes confrères." The General immediately at my request gave an order to liberate the officers on parole. Joy resounded at once through the prison, nor were the seamen and marines without their share of it, as they were immediately supplied with a hot supper, and had their regular meals during the remainder of their stay at Tours. Although relief could not be officially given, in consequence of the prohibition of the French government, this was done by private contribution, and the expence attending it was subsequently defrayed by the Admiralty; and the liberality of their country by the remittances made for their relief, enabled us to procure for them many comforts at this dreary season of the year, during a winter that was felt very severely, even in that mild region. This was an additional alleviation to the sense of our captivity."

On the 9th of April, 1806, Captain Brenton and his family removed to a country house near Tours, of which he thus speaks. "This was, indeed a little paradise to us; a most beautiful situation, on the right bank of the Loire, very near the bridge of Tours. The house was, in fact, an excavation made in the solid rock, upon a considerable elevation, the face and roof only being built with masonry. The approach to it was by a long flight of steps, ascending through four terraces, on each of which was a beautiful garden, and on the uppermost

level, contiguous to the house, a delightful grove of trees, surrounding a spacious saloon distinct from the house. This singular and delightful retreat was called 'Les petits Capucins.' Nothing but the idea of captivity, and that restless anxiety for worldly prosperity, or to speak more plainly, that forgetfulness of the inexhaustible goodness of Divine Providence, and want of confidence in our Heavenly Father, could have prevented my enjoying perfect felicity there. But ungrateful, and impatient as I was, I can now recollect with feelings bordering on delight, the many instances in which I acknowledged my sense of the happiness I enjoyed. We were now most comfortably fixed in our delightful habitation, but our peaceful enjoyment was soon unsettled by the prospect of an exchange of prisoners. The death of Mr. Pitt, which had taken place in January, and the coalition of parties which had been the consequence, now excited in the breast of Buonaparte sanguine hopes of being able to negociate a peace, through the influence of Mr. Fox. For notwithstanding his rancorous hostility against Great Britain, this had long been his most anxious wish. England was the only enemy he dreaded. In order to conciliate Mr. Fox, such of *his* friends as were prisoners in France, were immediately released, as well as those, whose liberation was thought likely to be agreable to him. Of this number were Lord Elgin, General Abercrombie, Captain Gower, and some others; and at the same time I received a letter from Captain Jurieu, a French captain in the navy, who had been sent over from England, three years before, in exchange for me,

recommending me to make every possible effort to get this exchange ratified, which he had been unable to do, nor could he procure permission to return to his captivity in England agreable to the pledge he had given. I of course followed his advice, but without success." On the 11th of June, Captain Coote quitted Tours for England, and "this event," Captain Brenton says, "we considered of very great importance. Captain Coote being a commander, and recently captured, I had every reason to be sanguine, in the hope that my own liberty was at hand." On the 23rd of July, he says, "The fluctuations of hope and fear respecting our liberation from captivity, had now in a great measure subsided. The departure of Captain Coote, for England, who had so recently been made a prisoner, convinced me that the measure was not meant to be general, for had that been the case, priority of capture would have given me the preference." Captain Brenton says, "It was even reported that Buonaparte had declared he would not consent to my exchange, which was probably the case. The people of France were as clamorous for peace as they dared to be, and when the municipality, in grand costume, were parading the streets, with military music, to announce some of the great victories gained in Germany, they would exclaim, 'Eh! voila une autre victoire, et cela nous donnera une autre conscription.' When the news of Lord Lauderdale's departure from France reached Tours, it was announced in the theatre; when a person was heard distinctly to say, 'Cette maudite guerre donc ne finira jamais.' Such, I believe, was a very general feeling

amongst the inhabitants of France. An increased degree of economy was manifested by the French Government. The Milan and Berlin decrees were issued for the prohibition of all trade with Great Britain, and bankers were even forbidden to discount the prisoners' bills. Messrs. Peregaux wrote to me with their usual liberality, informing me of this inhuman order; but they added, that although they could no longer discount my bills, yet they begged I would not scruple to draw upon them for whatever money I might require; and that they should be quite satisfied, that their account should be settled at the end of the war. The victory gained by Sir John Duckworth off San Domingo, in which he captured and destroyed the whole of the French squadron, did not at all contribute to allay the irritable feelings of the Emperor.

"I therefore felt convinced, from the selection that had been made of prisoners to be liberated, that Buonaparte had a particular object in view; that he was courting a party, instead of endeavouring to conciliate the British Government. This soon proved to be the case. The negociation was broken off, and the acrimony shewn towards the British prisoners was greater than ever; all communication with England, even the transfer of bills, was positively forbidden." These restrictions do not seem to have extended to the prisoners at Tours, for, on the 6th of September Captain Brenton says, "This day was passed in great delight in rambling over the beautiful grounds of Chanteloup, and visiting the castle of Amboise. Our darling children were in high health, and my own

health in a great measure restored. We were in possession of every thing to make us happy and grateful. The autumn was delightful, and we were under no restraint as prisoners, but permitted to make excursions to every part of the district. Our society was small but friendly. We had an addition to our friends by the arrival of Mr. Forbes (probably brother to the one before mentioned) and Sir H. Titchbourne, with their families, and had established a social intercourse, which was productive of much comfort and cheerfulness. In the beginning of November the approach of winter induced us to change our residence, from the beautiful place we inhabited, to a more commodious house in the city of Tours, where we had made up our minds to pass the winter contentedly. All hopes of an exchange had now subsided; mine were now directed towards a continuance of the indulgence of being allowed to live at a distance from a depôt; and from the increased ill humour of Buonaparte towards England, I had serious apprehensions of more vigorous measures being resorted to respecting the prisoners. I was under the influence of these feelings, when one morning returning home I found my beloved Isabella in tears, and much agitated; she told me a gens d'armes had been in pursuit of me, requiring my immediate attendance before the General. The visit of a gens d'armes rarely boded any thing favourable towards a prisoner. I however endeavoured to preserve my tranquillity, and soothe the anxiety of your dear mother. I hastened to the General expecting some unpleasant communication, but to my great surprize and joy, was received

with great cordiality, and these unexpected words, 'Monsieur, vous n'etes plus prisonnier—Je vous en felicite.' You may easily imagine the effect this information produced upon me. I ran home in an ecstacy of joy, which I concluded would have been equally great on the part of my darling companion. Joy did for a moment glisten in her eyes, for she always shared in my feelings. She felt a gleam of happiness because she saw me happy; but a moment's reflection shewed her the certainty of our being separated upon our reaching England, by my being employed afloat. She immediately contrasted the felicity she had enjoyed in France, with the probability of a long absence from each other, and all its fertile sources of anxiety and misery. But she was too good and too grateful to our merciful Benefactor to indulge these feelings long. She soon became herself again, and sympathized sincerely in my joy. Of her own feelings on this occasion, the record left by her own pen seems worthy of insertion."

"Monday, 25th December, 1806, Morlaix. Left Tours after a truly happy residence of twelve months. In the course of that time I had the satisfaction to observe the restoration of the health of two of the objects dearest to me in the world, and we have been surrounded with every comfort and blessing but liberty. I failed not to offer up my thanks to Almighty God daily, for the mercies he so bountifully bestowed upon me; and now, O heavenly Father, Thou hast called forth my gratitude on a new subject, by thy merciful goodness, for all good belongeth unto Thee alone. We

have at length obtained the object we so much wished for. Our captivity has ceased, and through Thy mercy and protection, we have been enabled to perform a journey of upwards of two hundred miles, without the smallest accident or delay. My beloved husband and children have arrived in perfect health, and for myself I can truly say, that I never enjoyed a greater share. Now, then, O great and merciful Father, I implore again Thy protection, in the voyage we are about to take at the present season of the year. Great must be the perils and dangers, but under Thy Almighty care, I humbly hope and trust we shall be preserved from them all, and be enabled to reach our own country in health and safety, and once more enjoy the blessing of finding our friends in health and happiness. This I beg through Jesus Christ our blessed Lord and Saviour. Amen." To this memorandum, Sir Jahleel Brenton subjoins, "Here my beloved children, is an example of pious gratitude and firm confidence in the protection of the same Almighty Being, who had always watched over us. To a common mind the idea of crossing the channel under all the circumstances in which she was placed, would have been full of terror, a few weeks only before your birth my dear Charles, in the depth of winter, and in a small French vessel of only eighty tons. But your mother never forgot in whose care she was placed. We had a most favourable journey from Tours to Morlaix, a constant succession of fine weather, and every comfort in our own possession to make up for the inconveniences on the road, which were sometimes very great. On our arrival at

Morlaix we hired a small French brig for sixty louis d'ors to take us over. Many delays and difficulties occurred before we could embark, and when this point was gained, and we had reached the mouth of the Port, six miles from Morlaix, a foul wind was likely to detain us. But what seemed to promise an additional vexation, was a French privateer lying in readiness to take advantage of the first change; and had she sailed, we should not have been permitted to follow for the next twenty-four hours, lest we might convey intelligence respecting her. This circumstance gave me much anxiety, which I now feel to have been inexcusable considering the blessings I enjoyed. It kept me frequently on deck during the night; the wind having suddenly changed, we weighed at dawn of day, and were at sea before the privateer made any movement. I then considered myself out of captivity, and I humbly hope I felt the gratitude I so deeply owed to the Almighty, for His merciful protection of me and mine, during that part of my life, particularly when I was a prisoner; 'Let them give thanks whom the Lord hath redeemed, and delivered them out of the hands of the enemy.' Ps. cvii. I felt it worthy of recollection in every subsequent year, that this delightful Psalm should have been the first which I was called upon to read to my ship's company, a very few weeks after my release, on the first Sunday after my appointment to the Spartan."

Further particulars of the journey to Morlaix from Captain Brenton's notes may here be added.

"Dr. and Mrs. Grey, and their daughter, were in-

cluded with my own family in my passport (see the annexed letter from M. Decrés).* This most peculiar instance of kind attention and good feeling, was procured through the indulgence of the Minister of Marine: through whose kindness Dr. Grey's family had been permitted to join us at Tours. Messrs. Peregaux also availed themselves of this opportunity, to shew that the kindness and liberality which had been so strikingly evinced at the early part of my captivity, were unabated. With my passport came a letter from those gentlemen, containing their warmest congratulations; and stating that in order to prevent any possibility of delay, they had sent me one hundred pounds for the expences of my journey, and wishing me all happiness and success.

"On the 20th December our two happy and united families left Tours for Morlaix, which we reached on the 27th, passing through La Fleche, Rennes, Lamballe and St. Brieux. At Lamballe, which we reached late in the evening, I was informed that a detachment

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"PARIS LE 10. xbre. 1806.

* "Je vous annonce avec plaisir Monsieur que vous venez d'obtenir votre échange contre Le Capitaine Infirmet cidevant Commandant le Vaisseau de sa Majesté L'Intrepide.

"Votre passeport pour vous, votre famille et le Docteur Grés vous sera remis par Mr. Le General Commandant la 22 Division militaire, et je donne des ordres á Morlaix pour que vous soyez antorisé á y freter un Parlementaire qui vous conduira dans votre Patrie.

"Je sais le plaisir que cette nouvelle vous causera, et il m'est agreable d'avoir á vous lánnoncer.

"Recevez Monsieur L'assurance de ma consideration distinguée.

"DECRES.

"M. BRENTON, CAPNE DE VAISSEAU A TOURS."

of English prisoners had arrived, and were in the prison, and that I might see them, if I went early in the morning, when they were to resume their march for the interior. At the dawn of day, I was at the prison door, and as the sailor was opening it, called out in the professional phrase, 'Yo ho! shipmates.' No sooner was the well known expression heard, than one of the unfortunate inmates exclaimed, 'If I did not dream I was just drinking a pot of porter!' This of course he considered prophetic of his obtaining some relief; nor was he disappointed, for the hundred pounds sent by the kind M. Peregaux enabled me to give to each a sum which might have been a source of comfort for some days; but it is probable, that it was soon swallowed up by extortion and excess. The money was of course given on government account.

"On leaving Lamballe, on the road to St. Brieux, I had got out of the carriage for the purpose of walking up a very steep hill, and on reaching the top I had lost sight of the carriage, owing to the winding of the road; I here saw another detachment of unfortunate blue jackets, under the escort of gens d'armes marching for Lamballe. I hailed them, and having ascertained to what ship they belonged, I gave to each man the sum of money I thought I could spare; the escort all this time preserved rather an unaccountable silence, but when the distribution was over, accosted me with, 'A present Monsieur, il faut savoir qui vous etes; ou est votre passport?' This had soon occurred to me, and I recollected that it was not about me, but in the carriage, which now appeared on the summit of the hill.

This however set all to rights, and the poor sailors gave three cheers to their countrymen, and pursued their melancholy journey.

"In the course of a few hours, as we approached St. Brieux, we had from the top of a very high hill, a view of the deep blue sea, of the English channel. The effect of this sight upon persons in our situation may be easier conceived than described; after being shut up for three years and a half in the interior of France, a far longer period than I had ever before been separated from my favourite element. Cheers from each denoted the general joy of the little party at again beholding what we all regarded as our country's own domain. On our arrival at St. Brieux, we met another detachment of English prisoners, but they were officers on parole. The two parties, the one on their way home, the other beginning captivity, met together at the table d'hote; and notwithstanding these adverse circumstances on the one side, the meeting was gratifying to both. I was again enabled through Messrs. Peregaux to supply each officer with the means of performing his long journey with comparative comfort.

"As we left the land the wind freshened, and a heavy sea got up. The French sailors who had been very earnest in offering their services to the ladies, and had even given their respective names, that they might be called upon when wanted, were the first to be prostrated by sea sickness, the whole eleven men without exception. The Captain alone was unaffected by the motion of his vessel; and on my suggesting to him the necessity of the topsail being reefed, as the wind

increased, he shrugged his shoulders with the usual phrase of 'impossible.' He however admitted the necessity of something being done, and having requested me to take the helm, he managed to lower the topsails on the cap, and as the wind was well aft, the vessel was able to bear it, and we two shared the helm between us for that day. In the middle of the ensuing night we had got over under the Start point, and the wind having got more to the westward, we found shelter there until daylight; when a beautiful day broke upon us, and enabled us to reach Dartmouth by eight o'clock in the morning. Thus ended our captivity on the 29th of December, 1806, having commenced on the 3rd July, 1803.

"The retrospect gave me much thankfulness in every point of view. It was a singular circumstance, that on my journey from Bath to Portsmouth, in June, 1803, one of my companions on the coach was the late Sir Matthew Blakiston, who mentioned a report (an unfounded one) that the Hazard Sloop of war, commanded by Captain Neave, had been taken, and carried into a French Port. I immediately expressed my opinion, that I could hardly conceive a greater misfortune befalling a professional man; and that it would be one of the most difficult to support. In less than a month from that time, I was actually in the very dreaded situation; and lost by it the command of one of the finest frigates in the Navy, with all the bright prospects attendant upon such a position, at the first breaking out of a war, when the ocean is covered by the enemy's vessels, and few Captains with such com-

mands fail in making fortunes. But the wind is tempered to the shorn lamb—the blow to me was, indeed, a severe one, but I was enabled to support it; and I have since been led to reflect upon the merciful dispensation which attended the event. It is very possible, that the effect of the concussion of the brain, which I had so recently received in the Minerve previously to her capture, might have disabled me, for the arduous duty attending on the command of a cruising frigate; and as I had already been indulged by having two acting Captains appointed to my ship, I could not have expected that a third would have been allowed; and had I been obliged then to retire on half pay, with the little interest I possessed, and the deeds of the new war, throwing into shade the achievements of the last; it is very probable that I might never have succeeded in getting a ship; but must have remained, like many of my brother officers, on half pay for the remainder of my days. I landed as a prisoner in France with the comforting recollection that no honour had been lost with my ship; that it was one of the unavoidable occurrences to which all are exposed in the profession of arms. With these feelings, and gratitude for my protection, under a fire of such duration, and of so complicated a nature, my mind was kept in perfect peace."

At this point of the narrative it may not be irrelevant to introduce some remarks, which occur in the private memoir, on the state of the British prisoners in France; in order to place, in its proper point of view, the general situation of the prisoners, and to consider how far the

charges against the French Government for neglect and cruelty are made out. "It is an accusation which has been frequently made, and as I have often given my opinion, not only in conversation, but officially upon the subject, and as the latter stands upon record, it may be right in this place to give the sentiments, which I have frequently and deliberately expressed. But to do complete justice to this subject, and indeed to the French nation, it is necessary to distinguish between the conduct of individuals, and the official measures of the French government. In doing this—under the first head we have a most gratifying task, so numerous are the instances of benevolence, kindness, and the best of feelings, manifested towards our suffering countrymen.

I have already adverted to the singularly generous conduct of M. Dubois at Cherbourg, of Messrs Perregaux, the bankers, to the benevolence of Monsieur Parmentier, the Mayor of Phalsbourg, and the kindness and ready assistance of the French military authorities, at the different depôts; and I am decidedly of opinion, that had such conduct been sanctioned and encouraged by the Government itself, there is little doubt but the situation of the prisoners would have been very different from what they experienced during the greater part of the war. It will hence be seen that the French people as a people, were by no means implicated in the sufferings of our countrymen; but on the contrary, there are very many instances in which they shewed the kindest feelings towards them; received them into their houses, when found lame or sick on the road, and incapable of continuing their march; and when

they informed the nearest brigade of gens d'armes of the circumstance, at once to vindicate themselves from the charge of harbouring deserters, and to procure permission for the sufferer to remain undisturbed, until able to continue his journey. This is the bright side of the picture. The other is of a very different description. It will be seen that the government allowance for the support of a prisoner was quite inadequate to the purpose—and that when administered as it was to them individually in prison, with no means of purchasing food, but through the abominable suttler, famine and disease were the unavoidable consequences. Then again, the arrangement made by the minister of war for the supply of clothes, shoes, and bedding, were tardy, neglectful, and insufficient; and but for the exertions of their own officers, many of the prisoners would undoubtedly have perished in the course of the winter. The places also allotted for their confinement, were, as has been shewn, quite unfit for the purpose; often without roofs, containing mud and pools of water, where their straw was to be deposited for their beds; and with additional abuse attending the straw, which instead of being delivered fresh from the sheaf, was in some instances only fit for the dunghill.

"The manner in which prisoners were also marched from the most distant parts, such as Toulon, and Bourdeaux, and even in many instances from Genoa, and the ports of the Adriatic, was highly reprehensible in the government of a civilized country. It is known that the whole of France, during the late wars, and I believe its dependencies in Europe, were divided into

squares about two leagues each way; and at the intersection of all the lines forming these squares, or as nearly as possible, a brigade of gens d' armes was stationed. If a small detachment of prisoners, not exceeding eight or ten, were to be sent from Toulon for instance, to Givet in the Ardennes, they were put under escort of two mounted gens d' armes; were generally handcuffed in pairs, and sometimes in addition were made fast to each other by a rope, and conducted to the nearest brigade, in the line of the destined march; and by this forwarded to the next, in the same manner. At whatever town or village they were to pass the night, they were generally locked up in the common prison; from whence they continued the route with the next brigade the following morning. Left solely to the gens d' armes, it may naturally be supposed, that the treatment was not always the most humane; although as has been shewn in the course of these pages, there were many instances of real kindness and feeling, evinced by these men. But it was too often the case, that the prisoners being without shoes became so lame as to be incapable of marching; they were then for some time driven on at the point of the sabre; sometimes dragged along by being attached to the horse; and at length, when utterly incapable of proceeding, they were deposited in the next prison until able to march. These instances, unhappily, were but too numerous, as the straggling parties of a few individuals were, from time to time, passed on from the coast to the interior. One consisting of a Captain in the navy, an officer of marines, and a private gentleman, who had been taken, coming home

passengers from America, is too remarkable to be passed over. Their names are, Captain Lyall of the navy, Major Stanser of the marines, and Mr. Palmer, a private gentleman of Bermuda. They were landed at one of the ports of the western coast of France; and notwithstanding their rank in life, were marched in the same manner as common seamen, from brigade to brigade, and like them confined in the common prison of the place, where they halted for the night; and upon one occasion, after being placed in the Cachot, and shewn the straw upon which they had to pass the night, a fierce mastiff was brought into the place, and the prisoners were told that if they lay perfectly quiet during the night they would not be molested; but if they attempted to get up the dog would seize them; and as a proof of this not being only mentioned to alarm them, whenever they rustled the straw, the dog began to growl. The situation of the prisoners, during the long night, may be imagined. Complaint was made of this treatment by these gentlemen on their arrival at Verdun, but no redress was granted them.

"No sooner had the prisoners in general been deprived of the assistance and countenance of their officers, than the old system of suttlers and wretchedness was renewed, and this state of things, aggravated by hopelessness, was the lot of the increasing numbers added to the depôts by successive captures, from 1805 to the end of the war in 1814."

In committing this record to paper, Captain Brenton states that he considered he was in the performance of an imperative duty; and, whilst he expressed the grateful

sense of the many acts of kindness, received from individuals, he felt called upon to substantiate the statement he has already made, respecting the sufferings of the prisoners, from the inadequacy of the supplies granted, and the measures adopted by the French government for the maintenance of those whom the fate of war had thrown into their hands. It is also much to be wished, that if there were any just causes of complaint with regard to the treatment experienced by the French prisoners in England, the charges should be brought forward in a tangible shape, that they also might be enquired into, and a remedy applied when necessary. But these must not be such wretched garbled statements as those of General Pillet, to whose own countrymen an appeal might be safely made, with the most perfect assurance of their pronouncing the whole work to be totally untrue. I have endeavoured to view the question in such a manner, that a judgment might be formed, as to all its bearings, and I now leave it, in the sanguine hope that many, many years may elapse, before the two nations are again placed in relations of hostility against each other; and that should such an event unhappily recur, they both may have a watchful eye over their prisoners, considering their honour as well as their conscience pledged to protect those who can have no other protection.

Captain Brenton, as to the particular cause of his own unexpected release from captivity, gives in his private memoranda the following account. "A nephew of Marshal Massena, Captain L'Infernet, had been taken in the battle of Trafalgar, in the command of the French

ship of the line, L'Intrepide. Massena had been making great efforts to procure his exchange; but the Admiralty, whilst they expressed their readiness to accede to this exchange, stated their determination to accept of no other officer but myself, whom they considered from the priority of my capture, to be unjustifiably detained in France, whilst other officers had been liberated, and that without any reason having been assigned for it. Buonaparte having no reason to believe that our government would relax from this determination, ordered my passport to be sent to me. It soon appeared by letters from France, that I had had a very narrow escape of being detained even at Morlaix. A small package containing copies of official correspondence, which I had with me in the carriage, and which was kept uppermost in order to prevent any suspicion, that they were intended to be concealed; was by accident either dropped from the carriage, or left at some inn on the road. It was found and forwarded to the Capital of the Department; where the principal authority, as a provisional measure, sent off an express to Morlaix to detain me; whilst the papers were forwarded to the Bureau de la guerre at Paris, where the order for detention was confirmed. We had however got beyond the Castle of Morlaix before the order arrived, and had no sooner passed it, than we felt ourselves safe within the limits of the British Empire."

This period of the narrative then which includes his captivity in France is thus closed, and if some details which seem irrelevant, and some particulars which seem

trivial have been introduced, the Editor still feels that their insertion is justified by the degree in which they exhibit the character of the subject of the memoir, or unfold the process by which that character was formed. There can be no doubt, that both to mind and body, this period of detention was eminently useful; and this recollection may have a tendency to reconcile others, who, in the course of war, may be exposed to a similar calamity, to the present privations of their lot, by considering its general consequences, and its final effects. In the case of Sir Jahleel Brenton it is but too probable, that if this long interval of forced repose had not occurred, his constitution would never have recovered from the effects of the accident he suffered, while fitting out the Minerve; and that the excitement of active service would have destroyed a system so shattered as his was. It is still more probable, that active employment in his profession, whether successful or unsuccessful, would have prevented much of that moral improvement, that growth in grace and knowledge of the Lord Jesus, which we have seen going on silently and gradually in the retirement of his captivity.

That he would have been under other circumstances, a man whom the world would have admired, a noble minded, liberal, benevolent and gallant officer, is certain; but that he would have grown into the reality of the Christian character, that he would have learnt the state of his own heart, and his need of a Saviour; that he would have felt the real value of the Gospel, and known it to be the power of God unto salvation in them that believe, is more than questionable. We

may therefore admit, that God in mercy withdrew him from labours for which he was unfit, and from delusions which could not have been resisted; and placed him for a time in a situation, where body and mind were to regain their healthy tone; and where the means for more extensive usefulness were to be acquired.

But captivity is a bitter trial to an ardent and ambitious spirit; and we cannot doubt that there were moments, when the iron entered into his soul, and the necessity of submitting to a lot which extinguished all his hopes, was a severe burden to a faith as yet but imperfectly developed. In many instances likewise we have seen that the bitterness of captivity was aggravated by the treatment the prisoners were exposed to, and the oppression they suffered; and each of these cases must have provoked the indignant feelings of officers, who were conscious of deserving the respect even of their enemies.

There were however bright exceptions, and these exceptions deserve the more notice as they occurred in decided opposition to the spirit of the government, and probably would have provoked the displeasure of the Emperor, if he had become acquainted with them; and his displeasure generally found prompt and ample means for exhibiting itself.

Among the individuals to be named with respect on this account is M. Decrés, the Minister of Marine. Intimately associated as he was with the government, he always seems to have attended to the representations made by Captain Brenton, and to have made every exertion in his favour that could have been

expected. M. Decrés at the moment probably yielded to the sympathy which one brave man has for another, and gladly alleviated, according to his opportunities, the sufferings of an officer whose gallantry entitled him to respect; but he did not foresee that the kindness he shewed to a British officer, was to be the occasion of multiplied kindnesses to his own countrymen; and that many a French heart was to be gladdened by the consolations he procured for a single English one.

The Editor therefore feels great pleasure in inserting here extracts from some familiar letters written at a later period, which shew how the circumstances of this captivity were remembered, and the way in which the courtesies of M. Decrés were requited.

"SPARTAN, OFF TOULON, Nov. 3, 1807.

". . . . You may remember how determined I was to wreak my vengeance upon the whole nation. At Malta I was senior officer, and I found a number of French prisoners. I did not exactly order them to the Appel twice a day, as used to be the case with us at Verdun. A colonel had been taken with all his family a few days before, and had lost his wife at sea, leaving him with three dear little infants. You may stare, but I gave him leave to return to France with his family and his physician. This I meant as a small token of remembrance to M. Decrés, but firmly resolved that all the others should remain until all our friends at Verdun were liberated; but like other good resolutions this was not a lasting one. A deputation of captive ladies waited upon me. 'Messieurs les Anglais, sont des gens pleins d' honneur, qui ne font jamais la guerre aux femmes ni aux enfans.' 'Eh de grace, Mesdames retournez dens votre patrie, je ne vous empêche pas.' 'Helas, mon Commandant, sans mon Mari? Le deserterai je dans le malheur? Que deviendrai' je, s'il succombe sous le poids

de l'adversité? Sa Santé est chancelante, et Monsieur n'ignore pas la douceur d'être dans le sein de sa famille.' 'Madame, je me rends, a vos raisons, partez vous et votre mari.' 'Et le mien aussi Monsieur? Vite, vite; allez, allez!' In this manner I was coaxed out of a dozen; they all set out vowing eternal gratitude," &c.

"SPARTAN, OFF TOULON, AUGUST 8.

". . . . On Friday we had one of the prettiest sporting days I ever remember. A frigate came out of Toulon with a convoy, and we gave chase to her. She ran between the Hieres Islands, round Cape Taillet, and into the gulf of Grimaud, where she anchored under the citadel of St. Tropez, and escaped. We however cut off two of her convoy, and were very near getting hold of a man of war brig, but the breezes failed us. I landed all my prisoners with their property, charmed as they said, 'De l' honnêteté de M. le Commandant de la fregate, et qu'ils ne manqueroient pas d'en faire une mention honourable au préfet maritime de l' arrondissement.' I told them they might thank M. Décrés for it, for his attention to me, and I hope he will hear of it, as I shall never forget his kindness."

War no doubt is a great evil, but when war is carried on in this spirit it loses something of its sufferings, and much of its horrors; and one may be forgiven for dwelling with pleasure on those gleams of light which kindness of heart and liberality cast across the dark and melancholy period of those protracted hostilities.

CHAPTER X.

ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND, AND APPLICATION TO THE ADMIRALTY.—KINDNESS OF THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY, MR. GRENVILLE.—COURT MARTIAL, ACQUITTAL, AND APPOINTMENT TO THE SPARTAN.—SAILS TO THE MEDITERRANEAN.—ESCAPE FROM CAPTURE.—BOAT ACTION WITH ITS UNFORTUNATE RESULT, AND COURT OF ENQUIRY ORDERED BY LORD COLLINGWOOD.

"THE day after our arrival at Dartmouth, as my beloved Isabella required repose, after the fatigue and anxiety she had so long been exposed to, I left her at Upton, near Brixham, with our kind and hospitable friend, Mrs. Cutler;* and proceeded to London, in order to make my appearance at the Admiralty as soon as possible. Mr. Thomas Grenville, then first Lord, received me in the most cordial manner, and asked me under existing circumstances how the Admiralty could best shew their sympathy for my misfortunes, and their approbation of my conduct. I replied that I was not aware of any thing their Lordships could do, until my court martial for the loss of the Minerve, should have taken place. Mr. Grenville replied, this had also been his apprehension, but he was at a loss to know how the court martial

* One of Mrs. Cutler's sons had been taken in the Minerve as a Midshipman.

could be held, since the officers being all prisoners in France, no adequate witnesses could be found. I observed, that I knew many of the seamen and marines had made their escape, and might probably be found serving in some of His Majesty's ships. A doubt still remained, whether the evidence of these men without that of any officer, would be deemed sufficient. Mr. Grenville however placed me in the hands of the clerk of the Record office, desiring I should have access to any documents I might wish to examine. After travelling through many folios, I discovered the case of Captain Craycroft, who in the preceding war had been captured by the French, and whose witnesses upon his court martial were, the surgeon and a midshipman I immediately communicated this, by a message, to Mr. Grenville. His answer was, 'Good, try again:' and soon after, the case of Captain Brey, of the Hound, on whose trial a midshipman and a boatswain's mate only appeared, was deemed conclusive by Mr. Grenville. An order was immediately issued by the Admiralty to all the commanders in chief on the home stations for an enquiry to be made in the ships under their respective commands, for any men who had been captured in the Minerve, and might have made their escape from France; and that in the event of any such being found, they should be immediately sent to the flag ship, at Portsmouth, and their names be reported to the Admiralty. In the course of a few days, six were reported, two boatswain's mates, and four seamen, and marines." The order was immediately issued for the court martial on Captain Brenton, to be held on board the Gladiator,

in Portsmouth Harbour; and it is hardly necessary to add, that the sentence of the court was the honourable acquittal of the Captain of the Minerve.

Immediately after the conclusion of the court martial, Captain Brenton having obtained a copy of the sentence, proceeded forthwith to London, and waited upon Mr. Grenville, who most kindly said, "We have been quite prepared for the nature of the sentence, and I have been only waiting to receive it officially, before I should attend to rather an extraordinary request, made by a brother officer of yours, who has begged that he may be permitted to resign the command of a fine frigate, just built and fitted out, and full manned. I can now grant his request, and make you the offer of becoming his successor." Captain Brenton's joy may be imagined at this most gratifying instance of the First Lord's approbation. He certainly did look forward to employment, at no very distant period; but the utmost he could expect was to have a frigate to fit out. Here was one of a superior description, all ready for immediate service. He lost no time in taking command, having joined her on the 10th February; the Spartan being then under orders to sail the moment the wind would permit, with the East India convoy.

In his private journal he says, "I left my beloved Isabella only five days before your birth, my dear Charles. I should most gladly have waited till that anxious period was over; but my ship was under sailing orders, and I left your mother under the care of the merciful Providence of Him, who never deserted her while on earth, and to whom we may now humbly

and firmly hope she has gone. I had soon the happiness of knowing she was well, and thankful for this additional blessing bestowed upon us, I sailed to the Mediterranean, without one legitimate subject of anxiety; on the contrary, nothing but happiness in the retrospect, and the most cheerful prospects before me." He adds; "A few days after I joined the Spartan, my convoy was transferred to the charge of another Captain; and the Commissioner's yacht came alongside my ship with £700,000 in cash; and orders for me to take it immediately to Malta. Here was another act of kindness on the part of Mr. Grenville. He found in this commission an opportunity of indemnifying me for my losses and expenses in France, of which he immediately availed himself. For some time all payments to the Captains of ships of war for carrying cash had been discontinued, but it was thought proper to resume it at this period; and the Admiralty recommended to the Treasurer, this as a fit occasion. The sum of half per cent. was in consequence allowed for the future, and this gave me £1100."

Contrary winds detained Captain Brenton at Spithead till the 2nd of March, when he sailed with a strong N. E. wind, in company with Sir Thomas Lavie, in the Blanche. The latter, being under orders to cruize on the coast of France, kept close in with the French shore, and was unfortunately wrecked the same night in the bight of Abervrach. Sir Thomas was a member of Captain Brenton's court martial, and little thought at that time, how soon it would be his turn to succeed him as a prisoner in France. The Spartan

necessarily keeping the channel course, was not exposed to this danger. She was off Lisbon on the 7th day, having orders to call off that place, but having carried away her main yard in a heavy squall, off the bar, bore up for Lisbon, sending the Lively, Captain Mackinlay, who was cruising off the coast of Portugal, to communicate with the British Minister. The Spartan had under convoy one transport laden with arms and ammunition for Sicily; the master of which, notwithstanding the most positive orders not to part company with the Spartan, bore up in the night, whilst they were laying to, waiting for daylight, off the mouth of the Tagus, and on the following night ran on shore off San Lucar, near Cadiz, although having a fair wind for Gibraltar, which was the place of rendezvous, in case of parting company by accident. The ship was soon taken possession of by the Spaniards; but before they could get even a small portion of her cargo out of her, she was boarded by the boats of the Malta, commanded by Captain Buller, and burnt. The Spartan arrived in two days after at Gibraltar, and having got a new main yard, and taken on board a small additional sum of money for Malta, proceeded to Messina, where she arrived about the middle of March. From thence she proceeded to Malta to deliver the money destined for that place, but did not go into the harbour, remaining off only a few hours, and then made sail for Palermo. At the very moment of her departure an awful event occurred at Malta. A corps, which had been raised in the Morea, and generally called the Spartan corps (the coincidence was much remarked

upon as very singular) mutinied; and having got possession of the Fort Ricasoli, determined upon resistance, until such time as what they called their grievances were redressed. These were that they should be allowed to retain the lower part of their Greek dress, instead of wearing the tight trowsers so abhorrent to a Greek. They had no objection to the jacket, but they could not endure the labour of cleaning their arms, or pipe-claying their belts, &c. A Greek will be as active as any one while on actual duty, but when that is over, he considers the time his own, and is more disposed to pass it sleeping in the sun than in any other manner. These men, having seized the Fort Ricasoli, were not only determined to defend themselves, but became the assailants, and turning the mortars of the fortress towards La Valette, began throwing shells into it. Providentially having no knowledge themselves of this branch of warfare, they were obliged to compel some artillery officers whom they had made prisoners in the fortress to direct the bombardment; and these officers under the pretence of intimidation, gladly availed themselves of the opportunity of throwing the shells over the city into the quarantine harbour, which from the knowledge of the scale of the fortifications they were enabled to do with great accuracy. The shells consequently fell harmless. When the mutineers saw that such measures were taken by the General, as must insure the reduction of the fortress in a few hours, they came to the desperate resolution of drawing lots who should blow up the magazine, and who should stand at the entrance, to convey the last signal

of the explosion, both of whom must necessarily perish. Those who drew the lots took their stations accordingly, and the remainder of the Greeks having taken such measures as they deemed best to enable them to get over the wall; the signal was given, and a most tremendous explosion took place, doing considerable damage to the dockyard, and parts adjacent. In the confusion occasioned by this unexpected event, nearly the whole of the mutineers succeeded in getting out of the fortress, and dispersed themselves over the island, in the hope of being able to procure boats and to escape; but precautions had been too effectually taken to allow of this; every point was guarded, and in the course of a few hours every man was taken. A court martial was instantly assembled, and a great number were condemned to death; many were executed, and the remainder sent back to the Morea. It is much to be lamented that the national feelings of these people had been so unnecessarily outraged. They maintained to the last that they enlisted under the express condition, that their costume should not be interfered with, and that they should not be obliged to clean and polish accoutrements. When however the usual manœuvres of a recruiting serjeant are taken into consideration, it is not improbable that even greater exemptions than these might have been promised; but a Greek is not a man to be tampered with any more than a Malay.

The Spartan found a squadron lying at Palermo, consisting of the Windsor Castle, and four other ships of the line, which had been sent there at the request of the king of Sicily, and were under the command of Captain,

afterwards Rear Admiral Boyle. A gale of wind of most extraordinary violence came on, whilst the Spartan was with them. The wind was from the southward, and therefore directly off the land, from which the squadron were not a mile distant. In consequence of this, the sea had no space to get up in; but notwithstanding that a dense spray was lifted up from the water, called by seamen, "a spoon drift," which lay along the surface as even as though it were a sheet of snow. Whilst walking the deck Captain Brenton was surprised by a sharp sound like a mast going, and looking forward, saw the jib fly up the stay like lightning, and immediately shiver to atoms. By some accident the down haul had not been made fast in the forecastle, and the wind getting into the head of the jib, carried it up like lightning. No other damage however was done, although the Eagle was for some time in danger, having been close under Monte Pelegrino. The gale was of short duration, and in a few hours was succeeded by fine weather.

On the 16th of April the Spartan sailed for Toulon, where she was ordered to watch the motions of the French fleet; and the wind being from the westward Captain Brenton ran along the coast of Italy. When just between the east coast of Corsica and the Italian shore, he fell in with an American ship, the Urania, Hector Coffin, master, and Greene of Rhode Island supercargo. Captain Brenton, on sending a boat to examine this neutral ship, gave particular directions to the lieutenant charged with this duty, to pay every possible attention to the feelings of the people, and to avoid

giving offence to the master or crew. The search took place, and as there was some deviation from the regulations laid down for the conduct of Neutrals by his Majesty's orders in council, Captain Brenton sent for the master on board the Spartan, requesting he would bring his log book with him. On his coming on board Captain Brenton explained to him the necessity of this measure; with which the master and supercargo expressed themselves perfectly satisfied, as well as with the kindness and delicacy with which they had been treated by the visiting officer. It was at this time nearly calm, so that no detention took place; and when the breeze sprang up, the American voluntarily steered for some time the same course with the Spartan. This was on the 27th of April.

On the 8th of May the Spartan again fell in with the same ship, between Sardinia and the Island of Ponza; and her being so near the spot where she had been eleven days before having excited surprise, she was again examined; and on looking over her log book to ascertain the cause of her having made so little progress, being hardly forty leagues from where she had been first seen, Captain Brenton was surprised to find a detail of her having been boarded, on the 27th of April, by the Spartan, worked up to the most rancorous pitch of exaggeration; stating that on that day they were boarded by the English frigate Spartan, had been forced out of their course, that the master was dragged on board with his papers, and that the hatches were broken open, &c. On Captain Brenton remonstrating

with the master and supercargo, upon the unmanliness of inserting such falsehoods in the ship's book, for no other purpose than that of exciting enmity between the two countries, whose mutual interests led them to the cultivation of peace; and reminding them of the declaration they had both made in the cabin of the Spartan on the day alluded to, as to the kindness and civility with which they had been treated by the lieutenant of that ship, who had boarded them; they both appeared overwhelmed with confusion, acknowledged the justice of Captain Brenton's observation, laid the blame upon the mate, whom they charged with having inserted the offensive passage without their knowledge, and promised that it should not be made public in America. It is not likely that a Neutral trading amongst belligerents should pay so little attention to a document of such vital importance as the log; and that neither master nor supercargo should inspect it. This affair was the subject of an official communication from Captain Brenton to his senior officer, and of another to the Secretary of Lloyd's Coffee house.

On the 23rd of April the Spartan captured a small French xebec, on the coast of Italy. The year had not expired since the conversation which has been related took place between Captain Brenton and Dr. Grey, at Tours. Dr. Grey had been appointed surgeon of the Spartan, at Captain Brenton's request, and he received in consequence the promised Encyclopedia. Captain Brenton says, "Shortly after this I was again preserved from captivity by a merciful Providence, which rescued

us from the enemy's squadron, when every hope of success seemed to have left us." The particulars of this escape are contained in the following letter.

"SPARTAN, OFF TOULON, MAY, 1807.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to inform you, that at noon on the 27th ultimo, the westward end of Elba, bearing N.E. we made sail in chase of four vessels to the southward, which at half-past five we observed to be ships of war, and made the private signal, which was not answered; and wishing to ascertain exactly what they were, I continued standing towards them until half-past six, when they bore up by signal in chase of us. We could at this time see their hulls from the deck, and perceived one to be of the line, two frigates, and a corvette. We tacked, and stood from them, but they gained fast upon us, as they had a fresh breeze from the westward: at eight, it fell nearly calm, and continued so all night. At day-break we saw the enemy bearing W. by N. about six miles, The south end of Capraia being at the same time W.S.W. about four miles. Upon a light breeze, springing up from the eastward, I made sail to the northward, in the hope of being able to escape round the island, which the frigates and corvette endeavoured to prevent, by running to leeward of Capraia, whilst the ship of the line hauled round the south end in chase of us. We had light and partial breezes until noon, when one frigate and the corvette bore west, about two miles from us, with a fresh breeze from the southward; the other frigate further off in the S.W. and the line of battle ship off the south end of Capraia, bringing up the rear. She had a very light air from the southward, but I saw the necessity of making every effort to get to the westward, as the only chance of escaping, and hauled immediately athwart the headmost frigate: upon our near approach the breeze appeared to fail her.

"At twenty minutes after twelve she opened her fire, and continued it for an hour and ten minutes. As I observed that the light breeze she had was destroyed by her firing, we did not return a

gun,* but kept a steady course until we had brought the enemy to bear south, when we bore up north, leaving him the choice of yawing to continue his fire, or to confine it to his bow guns. He preferred the former, by which means he lost so much way, that we were soon out of gun shot; the other frigate could not approach, and the corvette avoided us.

"Providentially we received no damage, although exposed for a considerable time to a point blank fire, scarcely going two knots; but few shot struck us. I have the greatest reason to be pleased with the steadiness and good conduct of the officers and people under my command.

"At half-past five, having a fresh breeze from the S.W. we had gained so far upon the enemy that they left off chase by signal; the Commodore shortening sail, and hauling round the north end of Capraia.

"From a Neapolitan pilot I had on board I learn that this is a French squadron from Genoa, as he says, he knows of ships of this description, viz. one of the line, two frigates, and four corvettes, being fitted out there. We chased one corvette off the island of Piglio, on the 26th ultimo; and the other two, I was informed by an American, are employed with convoys between Genoa and Toulon.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"JAHLEEL BRENTON."

"CHARLES ROWLEY, ESQ."

On the return of the French squadron to Toulon the Captain of one of the frigates was broke for his conduct; but it is not known whether this was the Captain of the the Pomone, who lost the opportunity of bringing the

* "I have often heard this exciting circumstance mentioned, and the impatience with which the sailors obeyed my brother's orders not to fire in return for the enemy's shot; observing, as he says, that their fire deprived them of the breeze. The sailors were heard to say that they did not so much care for themselves, but it was too hard their poor captain should so soon be shut up in a French prison again." F. B.

British frigate to close action, or the Commander of the Incorruptible for not joining in the attack upon her.

After this narrow escape, the Spartan proceeded off Toulon in pursuance of her orders. Captain Brenton's object was to have reconnoitred that port, in order to ascertain correctly the enemy's force, ready for sea, or under equipment; but he was chased off by a French line of battle ship. He returned the next day, and made out that there were only four ships of war in the outer road, two of which were of the line, with several fitting in the inner road. He considered it of importance that the senior officer at Palermo should be informed of the state of the enemy's squadron in Toulon; and therefore availing himself of a strong westerly wind bore up for that place, running through the straits of Bonifacio, where he fell in with the Sirius. Captain Prouse proceeded to Palermo with the information, and the Spartan directed her course to Ponza, with an account of the French squadron being at sea; in order to put the garrison on that island, and the island of Capri, on their guard. Captain Brenton says, "The Spartan now proceeded on her return to Toulon; but on the following day met with a disaster, which, in my estimation, far exceeded in severity any that had ever befallen me, in the whole course of my professional career. When off Nice, in the morning of the 14th of May, we gave chase to a polacre ship, which we continued with light and variable winds until near sunset, when it became perfectly calm; the chase being still at the distance of six or seven miles, but the weather so clear that she was distinctly made out to be a mer-

chant vessel. The officers entreated me to send the boats, which I was unwilling to do, in consequence of a recent order from the Commander in chief, not to send any boats where they could not be protected by their ship; an order that was clearly pointed as an injurious practice, which had crept in amongst the cruisers, of sending away boats to a considerable distance, to conceal themselves on points of the coast, in order to capture the trading vessels, whilst their own ships were out of sight of the land. Upon this occasion the distance of the chase was not an hour's pulling; and I determined to send such a force as I considered would put all resistance out of the question, and ensure the return of the boats early in the morning. I accordingly ordered out the barge, launch, and two other boats under the command of first and second lieutenants, and manned by volunteers, consequently by the best men in the ship. A light breeze having sprung up before the boats came up with the polacre, she had availed herself of it, to get close in with the land near Nice; and upon approaching they discovered that she had a tier of guns. I had given the most positive orders to the first lieutenant not to attack her, should she prove a vessel of force; but this gallant young man, considering she could not be viewed in this light, when the number of his men and boats was calculated, at once decided upon making a dash, and ordering the second lieutenant with one boat to board on the larboard side, he, with the others, immediately pulled up on the starboard, and commenced the attack. They were received with the utmost coolness by the enemy, who poured such a destructive fire

into the boats, that crowded as they were, it produced a most disastrous effect, and prevented them effectually from boarding. Both the lieutenants fell at the first fire, covered with wounds; the second, with his midshipman and many of the boat's crew, were killed upon the spot, as were many in the first lieutenant's division, and indeed each boat was filled with killed and wounded. The survivors made a gallant but ineffectual attempt to board; but they were too much reduced in number to succeed; and the boats on both sides letting go their hold, the polacre passed on a-head with a light breeze, keeping up a continued fire of musketry while within reach.

"From the very heavy fire which was opened upon the boats on their getting alongside, and laying their oars in, for the purpose of boarding; a fire, which had been judiciously reserved for that critical moment; it was concluded that assistance must have been sent to them from the coast, as it was scarcely possible that the crew of a merchant vessel could have composed such an effective volley. The vessel was some months after captured by Lord Cochrane, in the Imperieuse. The people denied having received any assistance on this occasion; and we are therefore bound to give them full credit for their most gallant defence.

"All eyes from the Spartan were of course directed to the quarter in which the boats were chasing; and it was not until one minute past ten that a slight scintillation of firing was observed, without any report. This soon after ceased, and not a doubt existed in the mind of any one on board the Spartan, that the attack had been successful. We had now got the breeze, and were

steering for the scene of action, every one expecting to see the polacre approaching with the boats accompanying her, but a most melancholy disappointment awaited us. The oars of a boat were at length heard. When within reach of the boat she was hailed; and the answer told the melancholy tale of their defeat, and that the boats were all on their return filled with the dead and dying. The following was the sad list of sufferers:— Killed, one lieutenant, two midshipmen, twenty-four seamen: wounded, one lieutenant (mortally), and thirty-seven seamen; scarcely ten men out of about seventy being untouched. The dead were laid side by side on the main deck, in order to be prepared for burial, being sewed up in hammocks. The wounded were carried into my cabin, the only part of the ship where there was sufficient space for their accommodation in dressing their wounds; and while this was doing, which took up the greater part of the night, the lower deck was prepared for their reception; all the hammocks, mess tables, and chests being removed for the purpose; a measure which became absolutely necessary in that warm climate, lest the air below, infected by the numbers wounded, should have generated disease amongst the healthy part of the ship's company. The number of these was so much diminished by this fatal event, that there was little difficulty in finding accommodation for them under the half deck and forecastle; so that the whole extent of the Spartan's 'tween decks became a most convenient and well ventilated hospital. On the following morning the dead were brought up for burial, and arranged along the starboard waste

hammocks, with a man to each, for the purpose of launching the body overboard at the proper time; the bodies of the second lieutenant and his midshipman were in coffins at the gangway. I could with difficulty get through the mournful service, and at the words 'commit their bodies to the deep,' when the whole were launched into the ocean, an universal sensation was experienced by the ship's company. The effect may be imagined, but it cannot be described. Four and twenty active young men in the prime of life, in all the energy of the seaman's character, buoyant with spirits and health only a few hours before, now gone to their awful account. This was indeed an awakening scene, and undoubtedly left a deep, although perhaps but a transitory impression on all who witnessed it."

To keep the sea under such circumstances was out of the question. Captain Brenton, however, did not quit his station until he had made another effort to get off Toulon, where he hoped to have fallen in with the British squadron under Captain Rowley, and also that he might carry the latest intelligence of the state of the enemy's ships in that part. But on the 17th the Spartan was again chased off from Cape Sicie by a French ship of the line, and two frigates, but as she considerably out-sailed them, they hauled their wind in for the land; and Captain Brenton made the best of his way for Malta, where he arrived on the 24th, having providentially very fine weather, smooth water, and light breezes, so that the wounded were under as favourable circumstances as possible. They were enabled to keep the scuttles on the lower deck con-

stantly open; and the value of this ventilation may be estimated when it is stated, that such were the effluvia coming from the lower deck in consequence of the wounds, that it was found most unpleasant to all who were looking over the gangway.

"The severe fatigue and anxiety experienced by Dr. Grey, the surgeon, upon this occasion, had such an effect upon his health, that he was under the necessity of leaving the Spartan, and retiring from the navy."

There are two circumstances connected with this melancholy catastrophe, which are too interesting to be passed over in silence. One relates to the midshipman who was killed in the boat, with the Second Lieutenant, (Mr. Williams.) He was the son of Admiral Christie, and had been placed under the particular care of Captain Brenton. On the 23rd of April, when the boats were sent in, to cut out a vessel, young Christie requested he might be of the party, to which Captain Brenton readily assented, as it was his practice to give every youngster, however young, an opportunity of shewing what he was made of, (according to the professional phrase); and having done this, he seldom allowed them to be exposed in the boats again, until they had attained the age of sixteen, when they took their turn with the others. Christie conducted himself upon this occasion like a fine gallant boy, and gave great promise of future distinction. On his coming on board the Captain expressed himself well satisfied with his conduct, and said, "Now Christie, as you have established your character, do not ask me again to let you go on any more boat expeditions, until you are more than sixteen; for I shall

certainly refuse you." Notwithstanding this warning, when the boats were preparing to go after the polacre, Christie came up, and begged he might be of the party; but was decidedly refused. It appeared afterwards that the Second Lieutenant, (Mr. Williams) an officer of great merit, and for whom Captain Brenton entertained the highest regard, thoughtlessly suggested to the poor boy that he should run forward, and get into the boat unseen by the Captain, under the bows; promising to receive him into his own boat, and accordingly he did so. The consequence was, that the Lieutenant and his young friend both fell together at the first fire from the polacre. Captain Brenton suffered great affliction upon this occasion, but thoughtless and inexcusable as poor Williams's conduct was, it never weakened his regard for his memory; attributing it to the motive by which he was undoubtedly influenced, a warm admiration for the display of gallantry in one so young, and the feeling that this very gallantry would be the boy's apology for disobedience.

The other circumstance is of a very romantic description, and is given in Captain Brenton's own words. "The coxswain of the barge, reported among the killed and wounded, was a very fine active young man, and had been indulged with the permission to bring his wife on board the ship. She was very young at this period, and the attachment between the couple was very remarkable, as well as the respect they obtained from all on board from the correctness of their conduct, which was in every respect exemplary. On the boats returning,

and the report of Bodie's death, (for such was his name,) his poor little wife was frantic with grief, and flew from one part of the ship to another, with the most agonizing shrieks When the dead were placed on the main deck, she flew to them, uncovering their faces, and calling out for her husband. She then ran up, and took her seat on the coxswain's box, in the barge, which had now been hoisted in, calling for her husband; and from thence to the Captain on the quarter deck, imploring him to let her see the body. Calling for some of the people who were in the barge, upon whom the greatest dependence could be placed, I desired to know how Bodie had been killed; when one of them said, 'Sir, we were boarding the vessel together on the starboard side, and were getting into the main chains, when I was wounded and fell into the boat, and Bodie at the same time was killed, and fell between the boat and the ship.'" The wife was present at this detail, and at length seemed convinced of her dreadful loss. The greatest attention was paid to her by all on board, to alleviate as much as possible her sufferings; and on the arrival of the Spartan at Malta she was received, by Captain Brenton's recommendation, into the protection of a very respectable family. Her situation excited the most lively interest at Malta; a subscription amounting to £80, was made for her; and she soon after sailed for England in a Transport, with a letter to Mrs. Brenton at Bath, by whom she was received, and remained with her for some time, previous to her departure for Ireland, where her mother was living. Captain Brenton also

gave her a recommendation to the Committee of the Patriotic fund, which obtained for her £50.

The Spartan having landed her wounded, and refitted, proceeded to Messina, in the hopes of procuring a few men from the Trade and Transports there. She then continued her course for Toulon; and on approaching the Hicres Islands, in the middle of June, we boarded a merchant vessel from Genoa, from which we received the following intelligence. "A polacre, it was said, had arrived there some weeks previous, which had been attacked by the boats of an English frigate, and had succeeded in beating them off. When the firing had ceased, the cries of a man were heard under the stern, and an English sailor was found hanging on by the rudder chains, and wounded. On taking him on board he proved to be the coxswain of the frigate's barge; he stated that he had been severely wounded in endeavouring to board the polacre, and had fallen between the ship and the boat, but as he passed a-stern he had caught hold of the rudder chains, and hung on until the action was over. The story added, that on the vessel's arrival at Genoa, the man was sent to the hospital; and on his wound being cured, had been marched into France." No doubt now existed as to the correctness of this statement, and I immediately wrote to Verdun, requesting my friends would make enquiries as to the depôt to which Bodie was sent; and on ascertaining his safety, that information might be immediately sent to Mrs. Brenton, at Bath, in order to her communicating the joyful news to the supposed widow. In a very few weeks a letter reached

Mrs. Brenton from the Rev. L. C. Lee, at Verdun, informing her that Bodie had reached that depôt, and was no sooner known to have been Captain Brenton's coxswain, than the greatest interest was manifest in his behalf, and permission was procured for him to remain there, where every care would be taken of him, and that he had quite recovered from his wounds. These joyful tidings were soon in the hands of Mrs. Bodie, at Cork, whose happiness may be easily imagined."

On the 18th of June the Spartan resumed her station off Toulon, and found the enemy's force considerably increased since that port was last reconnoitred; when four sail of the line were ready for sea, but this force was now rapidly augmenting. The Spartan was for some time the only ship employed in watching the movements of this squadron, and was frequently chased off the land by them; but as the French were uncertain as to the position of the British Squadron, and concluded they were cruizing out of sight of the coast, they seldom ran farther than six or eight leagues from Cape Sicie.

On the commander in chief, Lord Collingwood, having received Captain Brenton's account of the disastrous attack upon the polacre, he gave directions for a court of enquiry to be held upon Captain Brenton for this affair, consisting of Captains Boyle, Rowley, and Fayerman; he directed them also to enquire into the circumstances attending the loss of the Transport, which came out of England under convoy of the Spartan, and which as has been stated, parted company

with that ship off Lisbon, and ran on shore near San Lucar, where she was taken possession of by the Spaniards, but burnt by the boats of the Malta. The following are the reports made by the Courts of Enquiry—" Present,

CAPTAIN CHARLES BOYLES,
" FRANCIS FAYERMAN,
" CHARLES ROWLEY.

"The Court, pursuant to an order from Edward Thornborough, Esq., Vice Admiral of the Blue, &c. dated the 6th day of October, 1807, repaired on board H. M. S. Spartan, and there made a strict enquiry into the unfortunate result of an attack made by the boats of the said ship on a Polacre ship, on the night of the 14th of May, and the Court is of opinion that the Commander in chief's order of the 16th of June, 1806, on the subject of sending armed boats from the ships, has not been deviated from in this instance; as far as their judgment is capable of forming an opinion, from the narrative received from Captain Jahleel Brenton, and corroborated by the examination of the officers that were called before them; who had heard the orders given to the officer commanding the detached boats, and who assert that the chase appeared to be a merchant vessel, quite becalmed, about five or six miles distant, and not near any fort.

Signed, C. BOYLES,
F. FAYERMAN,
C. ROWLEY."

Then follows the enquiry respecting the Transport—
"At a Court of enquiry held on board H. M. S.

Spartan, in Palermo Bay, Wednesday, 7th of October, 1807,—Present,

CAPTAIN C. BOYLES,
" F. FAYERMAN,
" C. ROWLEY.

"The Court, pursuant to an order from Edward Thornborough, Esq., Vice Admiral of the Blue, &c. dated 6th October, 1807, being in pursuance of an order from the Right Honourable Cuthbert Lord Collingwood, dated 29th of May last, repaired on board H. M. S. Spartan, and calling before the Court the commander and officers of the said ship, made a strict enquiry and investigation into the cause and circumstances of the Mary, Ordnance Transport Ship, parting company with the Spartan, when the Captain was charged with her safety, and taking into consideration the great value, and still greater importance of the vessel's cargo. The Court is of opinion, from the examination and strict enquiry made of Captain Jahleel Brenton, the master, master's mate, the boatswain and gunner, the only officers called, two of the Lieutenants being dead, and the other Lieutenant at the time in his bed, where he had been for some time; that every thing was done on the part of Captain Jahleel Brenton to insure the safety of the Mary Ordnance Transport; and the circumstance of the said Transport separating from the Spartan, was caused by the carelessness, negligence, and bad conduct of the Master of the Mary, Ordnance Transport Ship.

Signed, C. BOYLES,
F. FAYERMAN,
C. ROWLEY."

This affair being thus settled the Spartan resumed her station off Toulon, and soon after the fleet, under the Commander in chief, Lord Collingwood, arrived off that port. On Captain Brenton's going on board the Ocean, his lordship received him very coolly, and said, "Sir, I am not at all satisfied with the report of the Captains who composed the Court of Enquiry into your conduct." Captain Brenton replied, "and I, my Lord, am not satisfied with the nature of the tribunal, before which it took place, as I should have preferred a court martial; and I have to request you will be pleased to order one to assemble now for the purpose of trying me." His Lordship replied, "No Sir, that is discretional with me, and enough has already been said upon the subject of both; but," continued he, "I have another cause of complaint to bring against you. How came you, while senior officer at Malta, to permit a French Colonel, a prisoner of war, to return to France on his parole:" adding, "they did not treat you so when you were a prisoner." Captain Brenton could not help being amused with the gravity of the charge, and the commentary upon it. He explained that the Colonel in question was taken by His Majesty's sloop the Weazle, on his passage from the coast of Italy for Corfu in a small trabacolo; that the colonel's wife, then on the point of being confined, and two very young children were with him; that on the Weazle firing to bring the vessel to, the lady was so much alarmed, that she was taken in labour, and after giving birth to an infant, died: that the three children were with the colonel at Malta, and that on a strong recommendation from Sir

Alexander Ball, the civil commissioner, he, Captain Brenton, had taken upon himself to allow the colonel to go to Naples on parole, on condition that having placed his children in safety, he should return, unless exchanged. Such were my reasons," added Captain Brenton, "and in acting as I did, I thought I was only doing, what I am convinced your Lordship would have done, had you been there." This could not draw from his Lordship any sign of approbation, although it was perfectly true; for his Lordship, with all his dryness of manner, and roughness of exterior, had a kind and feeling heart, and was a warm and sincere friend. His prejudices, it is true, were strong, and not easily subdued. He was notwithstanding accessible to conviction, and ready to acknowledge the efforts of those officers, whom he knew to have the good of the service at heart, however he might differ with them on some points.

As the editor feels that he has undertaken a narrative of trials and struggles, which, generally speaking, pass unobserved and unnoticed by the world, he does not deem it irrelevant to call the attention of his readers to the peculiar trials which were included in the first periods of this service in the mediterranean. Of Lord Collingwood it is hardly possible to say too much, whether he be considered as an officer or as a man; and the very circumstance, that differing as he did so widely from Lord Nelson in qualities and character, he succeeded in securing to so high a degree the regard and confidence of that distinguished commander, proves what the opinion must have been which

Lord Nelson formed of his talents and courage. But the character of Lord Collingwood as an admiral was just that which must have led him to pass a severe judgment on this unfortunate affair with the Polacre. His courage was that of a firm well disciplined mind, which had been accustomed to view danger with indifference, when it came in the way of duty, but which saw no necessity to go out and brave it, when there was no adequate cause. His professional life had been chiefly passed in ships of the line, as forming parts of great fleets, and engaged in great movements; and he had therefore less sympathy with that spirit of adventurous daring, which suited the commander of a cruising frigate; and he was disposed to look with jealousy, if not disapprobation, at the risks which were continually run for the sake of captures of very little intrinsic value. At this period also, age had added something of severity to his judgment, and he was not likely to admit any extenuation of an error, which had cost the lives of so many valuable men, and which seemed to have been incurred by acting in opposition to an express order of his own.

The former disaster in Captain Brenton's naval career might also have existed some prejudice against him in the mind of the Admiral. The unfortunate are seldom regarded as wholly clear of blame. The loss of the Minerve had been justified by the sentence of a Court Martial; but an old and cautious commander might have suspected that the commander of the frigate had been rash and indiscreet, if not absolutely in fault; and might have thought that this unhappy

attack on the Polacre was part of the same conduct, another act of a daring, but inconsiderate and injudicious officer.

The Captain of the Spartan had therefore to support a prejudice existing against the Captain of the Minerve, and had much to bear and much to do, before he overcame the impression which this untoward attack had made on Lord Collingwood's mind. That he did succeed in removing it; that he did succeed in satisfying his Admiral's judgment, and did conciliate his good will and approbation, may be an encouragement to others, who under similar circumstances, think all is lost because a single error has been committed; and give up and cease to strive to please, because they feel that they have to work against a strong and perhaps unreasonable prejudice in a Commander.

The private memoranda afford no information as to the struggles which this afflicting circumstance must have occasioned; but the reader has already seen and known enough of the mind and feelings of the subject of this memoir, to doubt what must have been his resource. We cannot doubt, that the defeat he had sustained, and the sad and sorrowful tokens of it in the loss of his gallant people, sent him in tears and humiliation to the throne of grace; that he there mourned deeply and sincerely over the rashness of the attempt, and his own imprudence in permitting it; that he considered himself as guilty in some degree of the deaths of those, whom he had allowed to expose themselves; and that many and earnest were his supplications for mercy and forgiveness.

But it may also be certain that this humiliation before God—this severity of self-enquiry and self-condemnation, prepared him in a peculiar manner for the trial, he was to meet from men. The Admiral, naturally, reasonably offended at this, which seemed a wanton waste of life, found him so humbled, that his resentment was disarmed. The censure that he might have felt himself bound to pass, on the point of discipline, was, he saw, anticipated. He could not strike one who was down. He could not reprove one whose self-reproof was manifest. He was obliged to feel for the man, whose own feelings had been so acute; and he saw that it was unnecessary for the interests of the service, to say anything where so much had been already done within. "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth;" and many are the causes of offence in every service, which would come to nothing, if they were not raised into importance by the pride of those who endeavour to defend their error, instead of acknowledging and condemning it themselves.

We shall have occasion to remark a similar trial in the following Chapter, where an accident occurred, which appeared to arise from want of care in the management of the ship; and which for a moment again put the character of the Captain of the Spartan in jeopardy with an Admiral of such correctness as Lord Collingwood. The affair in that case was capable of explanation, and the circumstances under which it happened, exonerated the Commander of the ship from blame; but those, whose daily lives are not exposed to such contingencies as belong to active service, will do well to

remember how trifling are the causes which may lead to consequences so serious, and in this way learn to feel for those whose forgetfulness or momentary inattention may be visited with such severity.

CHAPTER XI.

CRUIZE OFF TOULON. — REFITS AT MALTA. — STORM OFF SARDINIA. — JOINS LORD COLLINGWOOD'S FLEET. — DISASTER. — FALLS IN WITH THE FRENCH FLEET AT SEA. — EXERTIONS TO CONVEY INTELLIGENCE AND TO WATCH THE ENEMY. — RETURNS TO TOULON. — SERVICE ON THE COAST OF ITALY IN COMPANY WITH LORD COCHRANE. — REFLECTIONS.

THE Spartan was employed for the remainder of the year in watching the port of Toulon. The service was at first very arduous, and one of constant anxiety, and solicitude, especially as the French squadron in the outer roads had increased greatly, and it became necessary to reconnoitre them with increased vigilance. Lord Collingwood returned to his station off Cadiz; and the duty of watching Toulon devolved upon two frigates, the Sirius and Spartan in the first instance. On the former being called away, she was relieved by the Apollo; but there was seldom more than one of these frigates off Toulon at a time, the other being absent for the purpose of refitting, or procuring water and provisions. Early in January, 1808, the Spartan went to Malta, to refit, having suffered much from the constant gales off Cape Scicie, and from the necessity

of carrying sail to keep in with the land against the heavy N. W. winds, which blow so frequently, and with so much violence on that part of the coast. And as it was with this wind that the enemy would leave their port it became an indispensable necessity that the frigates employed in watching them, should keep as close to the land as possible, that they might have a look out upon them night and day.

On the wind increasing from that quarter, it was therefore imperative upon the frigates to carry as much low sail as possible, and they were obliged to set their courses with close reefed topsails, as long as they could be borne in safety; by this means, they generally managed to keep in smooth water, under the land; but the greatest vigilance was required, lest in some of the heavy squalls coming down through the valleys, the lower yards might be carried away, and the ship crippled in sight of a powerful enemy, who would only have to slip, and take possession of the disabled ship, Admiral Thornborough who commanded the squadron, which in the latter part of the Spartan's station off Toulon, remained cruizing from fifteen to twenty leagues off the coast, was full of anxiety respecting the frigates; and on Captain Brenton going on board the Royal Sovereign bearing his flag, to make his report of the ships in Toulon, he said to him, "My dear Brenton, I expected to have seen you worne to a skeleton from anxiety; I can scarcely sleep for thinking of you. I dread particularly the treacherous calms off Cape Sicie, whilst the ships in the outer roads of Toulon have a fresh breeze off the land, which might bring them

alongside of you in a few minutes." This indeed was a source of very serious apprehension, and the Spartan was more than once placed in a situation of great danger from it; the line of calm was however generally visible upon the water, and it was important to observe great caution in not approaching too near this line. There are few circumstances however which do not lose their power to alarm by familiarity with the danger connected with them, and so it proved in this case. On his being first employed in the service, Captain Brenton felt the full amount of his responsibility, and the danger to which he was exposed; but after being frequently chased off the land by squadrons of ships of the line, and finding that they invariably left off chase by the time they had got seven or eight leagues from the port; and finding also that they seldom gained much if any thing upon the Spartan during that run; he became so accustomed to being chased, that it was considered a matter of common occurrence, and was unaccompanied by any anxiety. Upon one occasion, when about four miles from Cape Sepet, the entrance to the inner road of Toulon, blowing fresh from the N. W. several ships of the line were seen coming out, and the Spartan of course bore up; at this time, an unfortunate boy fell overboard, and it became necessary to lower a boat down to endeavour to save him, and the time thus occupied was one of the greatest possible anxiety, it was however employed in letting out reefs, and in every preparation to make sail. The boy had sunk, and by the time the boat had returned, the enemy were out of the roads, clear of

Cape Sepet, and steering for the Spartan, scarcely more than a league distant; but no sooner was the boat out of the water, than the helm was up, and the ship under a cloud of sail; from this moment all anxiety vanished, and the enemy having run to the length of their tether, hauled their wind as usual.

It was upon one of these occasions that Captain Brenton, sitting in his cabin, watching the enemy in chase of him with his spy glass, was informed by the first Lieutenant that a strange sail was seen on the starboard bow. "Steer for her," said the Captain, "these fellows will leave off chase before we get up with her, and we may as well chase in our turn." As he expected, the enemy gave up the pursuit, and the Spartan continuing her course for the stranger, came up with her in the course of the afternoon, and took her; she proved to be a very good prize.

The Spartan having refitted in January at Malta, was returning to her station off Toulon, and the wind being strong from the westward, the Commander as usual ran to the eastward of Sardinia and Corsica. When on the east side of Corsica, the weather being remarkably fine and clear, they were keeping as close to the shore as possible, in order to have the advantage of smooth water, and Captain Brenton and his First Lieutenant, both very unwell, were sitting together over the stove in the Captain's cabin. The people were at dinner, when in a moment a heavy squall came on. The ship was taken aback, and was laid over with her guns in the water, and before the sail could be taken in, the fore yard was

gone, and the ship on a dead lee shore. The Captain and First Lieutenant were soon on deck, and every exertion made to get the ship into safety; but the proximity of the land rendered her situation for many hours one of extreme peril. She was got under a snug sail, and a maintopsail yard was substituted for a fore-yard. The wind however continued to increase after the sun went down, and blew with great violence, whilst a heavy sea got up. The ship was wore, as the wind veered a point or two each way, but at ten o'clock it was evident that they could not be far from the S. E. coast of Corsica. Captain Brenton's chief object in wearing as he did, was to keep the Straits of Bonifacio open; but even this was a most forlorn hope, for the innumerable rocks which abound in every part of these straits, render it a most dangerous passage. His intention was only to avail himself of it, in the event of being so near the coast as to leave no alternative but either going on shore, or attempting to run through the straits; in the latter case their safety depended on steering by the breakers—a fearful resource when the sea was running so high, that the whole surface of the water was broken. Every eye was directed to leeward, and every moment the order was expected to put the helm up; when by the interposition of a kind providence, the wind which had been nearly at east, flew round six points, and enabled the ship to clear the land, and by daylight she had such an offing as enabled the Captain to keep her away for Palermo, where the Spartan arrived on the following day, and to the great surprise of all on board, found Sir Richard Strahan

with his squadron lying in the bay, having run up the Mediterranean in chase of the Rochefort squadron. It became necessary that the Spartan should proceed with the utmost dispatch off Toulon, and application having been made to the Sicilian Commodore for assistance, he was pleased to supply the ship with a fore yard from one of his frigates, and the Lavinia, one of Sir Richard Strahan's squadron, having been put under Captain Brenton's orders, they made sail for their destination. The wind being perseveringly from the west and north westward, the ships endeavoured to beat up under the lee of Sardinia, but gained but little ground. At length, the wind getting round to the N. E., and blowing very hard, Captain Brenton determined upon bearing up, and running along the south coast of Sardinia, to endeavour to get to Toulon by a western route. On arriving, however, off Cagliari, he spoke an English Privateer, from which he obtained the information, that on the 1st of March, a frigate which had been cruising off Toulon, had arrived in the road of Pulla, near Cagliari, with an account of the French squadron, having got out of Toulon; and from the cross examination which Captain Brenton entered into, he felt convinced that this frigate must be his consort, the Apollo, which he had left off Toulon. The privateer captain further added, that on the following day he was boarded by the Wizard, sloop of war, and had the same intelligence from her, with the additional news that five French sail of the line, and a frigate had lately entered the Mediterranean. This was the squadron which Sir Richard Strahan had pursued.

With such important information, Captain Brenton felt himself justified in dispatching Captain Hancock in the Lavinia to Admiral Thornborough at Palermo; and he then stood with the Spartan into the bay of Cagliari, which he reached on the 4th of March, and received from the British Minister a confirmation of the report respecting the French squadron. He proceeded in search of Vice-Admiral Thornborough, but fell in with Lord Collingwood and the fleet off Maretimo; who having heard of the movements of the enemy, was in pursuit of them. All the other frigates and small vessels having been detained in different directions in quest of the enemy, the Spartan was kept with the fleet, and every morning, as soon as a flag could be distinguished, was ordered to look out in a given direction, as far as signals could be made out; and was recalled in the evening.

It seemed as though a fatality attended Captain Brenton, and that some circumstance or another should always arise to prevent his acquiring the approbation of the Commander in chief. Having been thus employed in looking out till the morning of the 13th of March, when particularly anxious to be in readiness to take his station on the look out, he was up at three o'clock, and as soon as daylight appeared, made sail in the quarter pointed out, and was as usual recalled in the evening. In the course of the first watch the wind had become very light, and the Spartan, at ten o'clock, was yet at a very considerable distance from the body of the fleet, which was on the Spartan's lee bow; he therefore directed the officer of the watch to let him know when

he should approach within a couple of miles of the fleet, and lest there might be any misunderstanding, he also gave this order in writing. The Spartan at this time had all sail set on the starboard tack; Captain Brenton soon fell asleep, and to his utter astonishment and dismay, was awoke by hearing a crash, and running on deck, found the ship had run on board the Malta of 80 guns, and that the Spartan's main yard was carried away. This indeed was a most serious disaster, his ship being the only frigate in the fleet, and at such a juncture. However as there was no sea running, the ships instantly separated, and the Spartan having got round on the other tack, kept her main-top-sails set by bringing the sheets below; and keeping her royals set, was enabled to get up into her station on the weather beam of the Commander in chief, to whom Captain Brenton sent an officer informing him of the accident, and expressing his hope that the ship would be effective again in a few hours. His Lordship's feelings may be easily imagined by those who knew him. He instantly sent his carpenter on board, with armourers and every other assistance that could be devised, but before these artificers were in readiness to work, there was but little left for them to do, the main yard was down and fished, and the hoops only remained to be put down, which were then preparing at the forge; and before eleven o'clock the yard was again up, and the Spartan as efficient as she had been the preceding day. The Admiral was appeased, and the affair had no other consequence than that of an order to try the unfortunate Lieutenant by a Court

martial. It may not be useless to explain how this neglect happened, as it may prove a warning to thoughtless young men, who in every other respect are most anxious and zealous to do their duty to the utmost. It is well known to be the custom of the service for an officer coming up to take charge of the deck, to be accosted by his messmates in the following manner, "Here you have her," describing the sail she is under, and repeating any orders he may have received from the Captain. Upon this occasion, to the "Here you have her," was added, "and you will find the captain's order in the order book in the Binnacle drawer." The young officer, who took charge of the deck, probably intended looking into the book for these orders, but forgot it. He now approached the fleet, and all at once alarmed for his responsibility, and hesitating on which side of the ship approaching him he should go, it ended as all these cases of indecision generally do, by running on board of her. The Commander in chief soon after this, having gained intelligence that the enemy had been seen off the mouth of the Adriatic, made all sail in pursuit of them, dispatching the Spartan to Rear Admiral Martin, at Palermo, with the information; and the Rear Admiral immediately directed Captain Brenton to proceed without loss of time to the Bay of Tunis, and not gaining any tidings of the enemy there, to cruize between the south coast of Sardinia and the coast of Africa, in order to prevent if possible the enemy passing to the westward, from the Adriatic, without being seen.

The Spartan had not been long on this service, when

on the 1st of April, 1808, the weather being hazy, and a fresh breeze from the north west, a fleet was descried to the southward, amounting to ten sail of the line, and four frigates. Captain Brenton felt so certain that this was Lord Collingwood, not having heard of the junction of the French squadrons, that he did not at first even make the private signals, but was satisfied with shewing his number. As they ran down under their topsails, the Captain, and the first Lieutenant, looking at them through their glasses, the former said, "Who is that old fashioned fellow who carries his mizen topmast stay-sail, *under* the main top?" The first Lieutenant immediately replied, "There are three of them that have it." Then said the Captain, "It is the enemy's fleet. Haul your wind at once." They did so, and then made the private signal, and no sooner had the Spartan made this change in her course, than every ship to leeward made all the sail she could carry upon a wind. The Spartan set her coursers, jib, and driver, and Captain Brenton, finding the enemy did not gain much ground upon him, felt satisfied with this addition, and was rather desirous that they should get a little nearer to him before night, when he felt that he could always get from them. Captain Brenton was now anxious to communicate the position of the French squadron to Rear Admiral Martin, at Palermo, and also to Sir Alexander Ball, at Malta; but he felt it to be his imperative duty to remain with the French fleet himself, and to dog them wherever they might be bound. He at once decided upon putting a canvass deck upon the launch; and applying for beams the rough pieces, which at that

time it was the custom to issue from the dock-yard for boat oars, to be made up on board when required; the launch being thus provided with a deck, and being furnished with a carronade, signal flags, ammunition, provisions, and water, became a very serviceable, and efficient dispatch boat. When it became quite dark the launch was hoisted out and equipped, but some delay in sending her away occurred, in consequence of the French squadron having gone on the larboard tack, by which means they were exactly in her track for Trapani. The Lieutenant was directed to proceed by land to Palermo, with his dispatches for Rear Admiral Martin; and the Master's mate, who accompanied him in the launch, was to proceed with her to Malta with the same intelligence for Rear Admiral, Sir Alexander Ball.

"SPARTAN, CAPE TOLAZO, 5 p.m. APRIL 1st, 1808.

"SIR,

"We are now in company with the enemy's squadron, consisting of ten sail of the line (two of which are three deckers), four frigates and a brig. We fell in with them this morning at ten o'clock, Galita then bearing S. S. E. distant thirty-eight miles; they were then steering about West, with the wind apparently at E.N.E. (we had it all North), I immediately bore up to reconnoitre them; upon the wind drawing round to the westward, and blowing fresh (which it did shortly after) they wore by signal, and hauled their wind on the larboard tack. When near enough to distinguish flags, I made the private signal, which was not answered, and we have since been keeping a station about six or seven miles in the wind's eye of them. At dark I mean to send away the launch, having fitted her up with a temporary deck for the occasion, and put her under the command of Lieutenant Coffin, third Lieutenant, to whom I beg leave to refer you for particulars. He is a most excellent young officer, and has in my opinion added to

his merit, by the very handsome manner in which he has volunteered his services on this occasion. It is my intention to use every endeavour to keep sight of the enemy, and having ascertained their destination, to take the earliest opportunity of sending information of it; watching them myself till I have reason to believe the Commander in chief, or some of his squadrons are acquainted with their situation.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"JAHLEEL BRENTON."

"REAR ADMIRAL MARTIN, &c.
"PALERMO."

When the French fleet had got sufficiently to the northward, to offer a prospect of the launch pursuing her course unobserved, she was ordered to shove off; but she had scarcely got a mile from the ship, when, to Captain Brenton's great dismay, the enemy were seen on the starboard tack, and there was the greatest probability that the poor launch would have fallen into their hands. The officer however on seeing them approach, most judiciously lowered his sails; by which means, they passed without seeing him, although as he said, one of the ships was so near him, that he thought his capture inevitable. He was most providentially preserved, and the Spartan kept her station on the weather beam of the French Admiral during the night, and as day approached made sail on the opposite tack, by which she was soon out of danger of pursuit, and preserved that distance until the evening, when she again bore down and took her station for the night. On the morning of the 2nd, just before daylight, the enemy were still on the starboard tack, on which they had been the whole night. The Spartan

was put about, and Captain Brenton, who had been on deck nearly the whole night, left orders to stand on the larboard tack, until the topsails only of the French squadron could be seen from the deck, when the ship was again to be put in stays, and bear the same tack with the enemy. He had not long however been asleep, when he was called by the officer of the watch, and informed that the French squadron had tacked and lay up for the Spartan; that they had a fresh breeze whilst the Spartan was nearly becalmed. The enemy approached rapidly, and had got within four or five miles, when their wind also failed them, and a most anxious day was passed by all on board the Spartan. The sails were sometimes trimmed for one tack, and sometimes for the other, and their steering sails, a-low and a-loft, and all in the course of an hour or two, as the wind veered round the compass. In the afternoon the wind set in again, and blew steady from its old quarter, the N. W.; and the French Admiral determined to avail himself of every change, in the hope of catching the British frigate, divided his squadron into two parts, and put one on each tack; but the Spartan having the breeze strong and steady had the heels of them, and had got so far to windward before dark, that when the squadron again united, and got upon the starboard tack, which they always did at night, she was again under the necessity of bearing down, in order to ensure keeping sight of them during the night. On the evening of the 3rd the wind having got round to the Northward, the French Admiral was observed to keep away, (about west) and a frigate

went along the line, apparently speaking every ship; which movement Captain Brenton interpreted in the following manner. "The French Admiral finding he cannot shake off the British frigate, or get hold of her, is determined to pursue his course to the westward; it may be for the straits of Gibraltar, on his way to Cadiz; or it may be, that with the expectation of the wind getting into its prevailing quarter, S. W., he wishes to take advantage of it to get to Toulon, and probably taking Minorca in his way, and joining the Spanish squadron of six sail of the line known to be there. At all events," said Captain Brenton to his officers, "we must endeavour to accompany him;" and in his turn, in order to puzzle the French Admiral with regard to the Spartan's movements, he continued close hauled until he had lost sight of the French squadron, then keeping away upon the same course, they were last seen steering, and setting the courses, he expected soon to be again abreast of them, and to resume his position for watching them on the following day. Gantheaume, who commanded the French squadron, evidently had laid a trap for him, and expected this movement, for after dark he must have hauled his wind expecting to get to windward of the Spartan. As the night was dark, great anxiety was felt to get sight of the enemy again, and an eager look out kept on the lee bow. All at once the junior marine officer who was on the lee gangway called out, "here they are Sir, close to us on the lee quarter;" and there indeed they were, not much more than a mile distant. As the Spartan was off the wind and going at a great

rate, with all hands on deck, Captain Brenton decided upon at once wearing her, and getting on the other tack, as far preferable to keeping his enemy astern, and so near him, or running the risk of any accident which might happen in the stays. He accordingly ordered the helm to be immediately put up, and the ship flew round with rapidity, and was round on the other tack under the mainsail in a few moments. She was evidently within gun shot of the leading ship of the French squadron, but only for a very few minutes, and they were probably deterred from firing, lest it might attract the attention of other cruizers. The French squadron soon after wore, which they did very deliberately; the signal having been first made by the Admiral, and when repeated by his second astern, hauled down in his ship, and so on throughout the line, only one ship having the signal up at a time, and no guns being fired upon any occasion; this clearly betrayed a desire not to attract notice. The Spartan continued carrying a press of sail all night, and soon got over on the coast of Sardinia; when she went again upon the starboard tack, and at daylight saw the enemy's squadron upon the larboard tack, broad on her lee bow. On the evening of this day the weather was very squally, and wind so variable, as sometimes to bring the enemy to windward, a position most unfavourable to the Spartan, though there was no apprehension whatever of any ship of the enemy gaining upon her on a wind, although many might have done so while going large. Captain Brenton, to avoid these disadvantageous circumstances, stood well over to the coast

of Sardinia, in the expectation of again crossing upon the French squadron in the morning, but he saw no more of them. They had undoubtedly availed themselves of the changes of wind, favourable to their getting to the N. N. W. as they were known to have reached Toulon in a few days after.

Captain Brenton was now under considerable anxiety, as to the steps he should next take. From the conduct of the enemy during four days, there was every reason to believe that their object was to get to the westward, but whether to the straits of Gibraltar, or Minorca, or Toulon, he could not determine. Depending upon his launch having carried all the information to Sicily and Malta, he resolved to steer for Minorca, under the probability that M. Gantheaume might have gone thither for the Spanish ships, as has already been suggested. He also thought, that on this course with the perpetual changes of wind so frequently experienced in the spring in the Mediterranean, he might again fall in with them, whether their destination was to either of the places above mentioned.

From the evening of the 5th to the morning of the 7th, the Spartan was nearly becalmed the whole time, but a fresh breeze then springing up from the S. W. the Spartan stretched over for Minorca, and made that island on the evening of the 8th. Captain Brenton was in the hope of being able to reconnoitre port Mahon in the morning, but in the course of the night it came on to blow very hard from the northward; and to have attempted to have worked up to the island would have expended too much valuable time. All that

remained in his power now was to endeavour to secure Admiral Purvis, who commanded the British squadron off Cadiz, against surprise. He accordingly made all sail for Gibraltar; he arrived off the rock on the evening of the 10th, and brought to off Cabrita, whilst he sent a boat on shore for intelligence; and on its return proceeded through the straits under bare poles, in order not to miss the squadron under Admiral Purvis, which he saw at day-light, and communicated his intelligence by telegraph.

The Admiral immediately made the signal for his squadron to clear and prepare for battle. He gave Captain Brenton great credit for his conduct upon this occasion, as did Lord Collingwood on his rejoining him. Having remained with the squadron off Cadiz, as long as any probability remained of the French squadron coming down, the Spartan was again ordered to Palermo, to rejoin Rear Admiral Martin; and on his arrival there, Captain Brenton was directed to resume his station off Toulon; where he was informed he should find the Commander in chief, which was the case. Lord Collingwood expressed himself highly pleased with all the measures he had pursued under these trying and difficult circumstances; and said he had been greatly relieved, on hearing of the Spartan's safety, as a report had reached him, that the French squadron was seen going into Toulon, with an English frigate their prize; and little doubt was entertained in the fleet, as to the correctness of the report, or, as to the Spartan being the ship taken. His Lordship was heard to exclaim when he heard the news, "That

poor Brenton was the child of misfortune." Captain Brenton was now again upon his old post, but had the comfort of another frigate, the Lavinia, being put under his orders. There were at this time six sail of the line in Toulon, and four frigates ready for sea; and six men of war, with two frigates refitting. The enemy frequently came out as usual, chasing off our frigates and returning into port again.

On the 1st of August, Captain Brenton having observed a frigate and convoy getting under weigh in Toulon, and suspecting they were destined for Corsica with troops, where he had been informed some disturbances had taken place, recalled the Lavinia by signal from Cape de L'Aigle; and directing Captain Hancock to occupy the Spartan's post off Toulon, made sail himself in chase of the frigate, and gained very fast upon her, in consequence of which she hauled into the bay of St. Tropaz, and anchored under the citadel. The Spartan succeeded in taking two of her convoy, and was very near taking a man of war brig, having got within gun shot of her; but being becalmed, the Frenchman got away with his sweeps. The Spartan had three men wounded by a shot from one of the batteries, but only slightly.

In the beginning of September, the Spartan was ordered to cruize in the gulf of Rosas, to prevent the enemy's vessels from collecting on the coast between Cape Creux and Cape Couronne. On the 7th, Captain Brenton fell in with the Imperieuse, commanded by Lord Cochrane, and joined him in an attack he was making upon some merchant vessels near Cape Mejean;

one of which they burned, and captured two, which not being worth sending into port for adjudication, they destroyed. The Imperieuse had one man killed upon this occasion, and the Spartan one wounded.

On the 8th, the boats from the two ships landed and destroyed the signal post and telegraph in the bay of Saintes Maries; from thence they proceeded to attack three batteries upon the Isthmus of Leucate, where a number of vessels were lying hauled up on the beach. Lord Cochrane had reconnoitred this part of the coast some days previously, and had landed and spiked one of the guns on the southern battery. On the 10th, at daylight, the boats landed and completed the destruction of that battery; whilst the ships protected them by their fire, from the troops which were assembled. At one p. m. the boats were formed in two divisions, the first made a feint of landing near the village of Caunet, by which means the troops were all drawn to that point, and the ships running in attacked the centre battery near the village of St. Lauren, and the second division of boats proceeded under cover of the Imperieuse, and carried the northernmost battery. A beautiful instance of ready seamanship was displayed by Lord Cochrane upon this occasion. Having already reconnoitred the coast, he requested he might be permitted to lead upon the occasion. The Spartan was following the Imperieuse, at less than a cable's length distance, the ships going about three knots; when the Imperieuse was observed suddenly to swing round, with much more rapidity than any action of the helm could have produced. The fact was, that Lord

Cochrane from the mast head saw a squadron of the enemy's cavalry galloping towards a gorge on the coast, which had they passed, they would have cut off the retreat of our people, who were employed in spiking the guns. His Lordship immediately ordered the ship's anchor to be let go, and the swinging round brought her starboard broadside to enfilade this gorge, by which the cavalry were instantly turned. The boats were then again landed, when one vessel was blown up, and another burnt, the others considerably injured by the fire from the frigates; but the enemy having collected in considerable force with field pieces, the boats were recalled. The Spartan had two wounded upon the occasion, and the Imperieuse one.

On the following day the two ships anchored off Cette, and endeavoured to burn the shipping in the harbour, by throwing congreve rockets amongst them; but without effect, probably owing to the defective state of the rockets.

On the 12th they again landed, burnt a custom-house, near Mont Julien, two pontons on the canal, and some guard houses, bringing away a number of small arms.

On the 13th they chased nine sail of merchant vessels off Point de Tigne, and captured six of them, viz., one ship, three brigs, a xebec, and a bombard; these vessels had run on shore, with the wind blowing hard from the N. W. The Spartan and the Imperieuse anchoring near them, and heaving them off, they were no sooner afloat and anchored near the frigates, than a gale of wind came on, directly on shore, which

obliged the ships to remain there till the 16th, in hourly expectation of the enemy bringing down guns, as they were within shot of the beach. Captain Brenton in his official letters states the conduct of Lord Cochrane to have been above all praise; and that it was throughout an animating example of intrepidity, zeal, professional skill, and resources which he trusted would be treasured up in the memory of all who witnessed it.

The Editor may be allowed to add as a tribute due to the distinguished officer thus casually introduced to notice from connection with the subject of the Memoir, that he has frequently heard Sir Jahleel Brenton mention, that he admired nothing more in Lord Cochrane, than the care he took of the preservation of his people. Bold and adventurous as he was, no unnecessary exposure of life was ever permitted under his command. Every circumstance was anticipated, every precaution against surprise was taken, every provision for success was made; and in this way he was enabled to accomplish the most daring enterprises, with comparatively little danger, and still less of actual loss.

The public who heard of his unceasing activity and dauntless courage, regarded him as one only ambitious of the character of a successful commander, and little knew that he never risked an attack of which he had not calculated all the probable contingencies, and compared most jealously the loss he might himself sustain, with the injury to be done to the enemy.

Lord Collingwood in acknowledging Captain Brenton's official account of these affairs expressed much approbation. The service performed was in itself trivial,

but the effect upon the enemy important; as these perpetual attacks made on different parts of the coast were very harrassing to them, and kept their cavalry, as well as other descriptions of force, constantly in motion; whilst they at the same time paralyzed their trade, which at this period of the war was confined entirely to the coasting department. It became necessary also for the enemy to keep a much larger military force in their maritime departments, than they would otherwise have done, and the amount of troops sent to the army was consequently diminished.

The coasters were at length so apprehensive of falling into the hands of the English cruizers, that they seldom dared to quit the shelter of a port, until signals had been made from the different stations on the coast, that no enemy was near.

While such was the perilous and anxious tenor of Captain Brenton's days, some light may be reflected on his personal character, by introducing a short extract from that domestic memoir, to which reference has previously been made, as exhibiting the feelings that were passing in his mind, while occupied in this active service. The thread of the narrative, it is true, will be broken; the thrilling interest connected with these critical moments must be suspended; but it is well that the reader should see the character of the man in whose dangers he is led to share, and should learn even through the interruption of the story, that the duties of the service may be discharged in the most exemplary manner, whilst the heart retains all the warmth and tenderness of well regulated affection. Speaking of

this period of his life to his children, he says, "This was a time of great anxiety, which to a heart formed like your dear mother's, was perhaps rendered more severe, by the struggle between her religious convictions and her worldly affections, between her wish to repose entire confidence in God, and those feelings, which although given us for our happiness, we are not able to controul, when we have reason to fear that those we love are suffering, or in danger. The enemy's squadron had escaped from Rochefort, and got into the Mediterranean, where they formed a junction with that of Toulon, and an action with our fleet was consequently expected. My beloved Isabella knew I was cruizing off Toulon, and was naturally full of apprehension. I had been relieved in the early part of the year, in order that I might go to Malta and refit, and upon my return having fallen in with Lord Collingwood, I was detached in quest of the enemy, which I fell in with, the beginning of April, off Sardinia. I lost sight of them on the fourth day, and concluding from the course they had steered, whilst I was with them, that they were going either to Minorca or Cadiz, I went successively to those places, giving the alarm to our Commander in chief, who was blockading the latter. I had the satisfaction of receiving Lord Collingwood's entire approbation of my conduct; and what was not less gratifying, a letter, whilst off Cadiz, from your beloved mother, which had been written but little more than a fortnight. I was also enabled to send her accounts of my welfare, which from the nature of the service upon which I had been engaged, she could not

otherwise have received for a considerable time; whilst reports of our having fallen into the hands of the enemy were circulated throughout the Mediterranean, and generally believed." This circumstance seems to have called forth the following expression of gratitude from the anxious wife.

Bath 1808.—"Just received letters from my beloved Brenton, which have more than ever given me cause for gratitude to the All wise disposer of events. Oh! merciful God, how is it possible for me to express the gratitude due to Thee, upon this occasion particularly whilst every hour of my life is marked by some of thy bountiful mercies. But thy late preservation of my husband, both from the enemy, and the perils and dangers of the sea, call for more than usual gratitude." Captain Brenton adds, "Whilst so many are habitually congratulating themselves upon the instances of what they call 'good fortune,' or their 'lucky escapes,' or pluming themselves upon their own success as the necessary consequences of their own judgment or merit; let us, my darling children, follow the example of your angelic mother, and refer all we meet with to the merciful and watchful care of a benign and superintending Providence—let us pay our gratitude where it is due; and in all our trials remember what He has done for us. Let us resign ourselves to His divine will, and assure ourselves that were it not good for us to be afflicted, adversity would never reach us."

CHAPTER XII.

REMOVED FROM THE TOULON STATION TO THE MEDITERRANEAN.—CRUIZE OFF CANDIA, AND IN THE ADRIATIC.—ACTION AT PESARO; AND OFFICIAL LETTERS.—CO-OPERATION WITH THE AUSTRIANS IN THE ADRIATIC.—LETTERS FROM LORD COLLINGWOOD EXPRESSIVE OF HIS ENTIRE SATISFACTION.

THE Spartan having resumed her station off Toulon, discovered on the morning of the 2nd of October, that five frigates and a store ship had got out during the preceding night in a heavy gale from the N. W. Captain Brenton concluded they were gone to Corsica, as the store ship was constantly employed in bringing timber from that Island.

The Spartan was now released from this arduous duty by the Proserpine, and Captain Brenton was ordered to put himself under the orders of Rear Admiral Martin, on the coast of Sicily, and to cruize between the Faro of Messina, and the entrance of the Adriatic. On this head, Captain Brenton's own notes may be used.

"Upon my arrival in the Mediterranean in the spring of 1807, I had been stationed to watch the enemy's fleet in Toulon, and I was continued in that arduous service till the latter end of 1808, when I was

relieved at the joint intercession of the junior flag officers, who had represented to the Commander in chief (though unsolicited by me) the hardship of one person being confined to such severe service, for so long a period. My stay there had, I believe, been protracted in the first instance, by a little prejudice on the part of the Admiral, in consequence of my having lost so many men, on the unfortunate occasion of the expedition of the boats; and latterly from the expediency of keeping an officer on so important a station, who had the advantage of local knowledge, gained by the experience of so many months, as well of the coasts, as of the operations of the enemy.

"I was at length removed to the coast of Calabria, and stationed between the Island of Sicily, and the mouth of the Adriatic, with a gratifying acknowledgement from Lord Collingwood of my having fulfilled the duties of my last post to his satisfaction. I had still less chance of success on this coast, than in the neighbourhood of Toulon, but the duty was not so harassing, or the responsibility so great, and I looked for something better.

"In the spring of 1809 I was sent to cruize on the coast of Syria and Egypt, when I took two prizes, only one of which, however, got into port. On my return to Malta, my excellent and warm friend, Sir Alexander Ball, sent me to take the command of the little squadron in the Adriatic. No situation in the Navy could have been more agreeable to my wishes, particularly with such officers and friends under my command, as Captains Hoste, Duncan and Waldegrave."

Early in January, 1809, intelligence had been received that Murat, then king of Naples, had resolved upon making a descent upon Sicily in the month of February. Great vigilance was consequently required to prevent any collection of troops or vessels on any point of the coast. The Spartan was kept upon the service during the greater part of 1808-9. Captain Brenton received a letter from Rear Admiral Martin, dated 19th January, 1809, informing him that an attack was confidently expected to be made by Murat, in the course of a short time, and that it was possible the Russian squadron at Trieste would co-operate in it, recommending the utmost vigilance for the protection of the eastern coast. He received at the same time another letter from General Sir John Stuart, confirming the expectation of Murat's intended invasion.

Early in February the Commander in chief (then at Malta) having reason to believe that no attack was likely to be made upon Sicily, ordered Captain Brenton to join him there in the Spartan, where he arrived on the 6th. An incident occurred at this time, which shews in a strong point of view the superstition of the British sailors. When the Spartan was at Malta in the early part of January, a corporal of marines had been sent on shore to bring off one of his party, who had gone on shore without leave. A scuffle ensued with some drunken men, and the corporal in self-defence having drawn his bayonet, the marine was killed. The parties were immediately taken up, and the following day after a minute examination into all circumstances by the magistrates, the corporal was acquitted of all blame,

and sent off to his ship, which sailed in the course of a day or two. The weather became very boisterous, a succession of gales of wind was experienced, and not one prize taken during the cruize. All this bad luck as it was called, was visited upon the corporal, who was supposed to be the Jonas, having been guilty of murder; and it was an opinion frequently expressed by the people, that no more good fortune would attend the ship, as long as corporal Mantle was in her. This was frequently mentioned to the Captain, who paid no attention to it. But on his arrival at Malta he mentioned the circumstance to Lord Collingwood, suggesting that the man should be tried by a court martial, as his acquittal was certain, and would be the means of whitewashing him in the eyes of his shipmates. His Lordship quite approved of this. The court was ordered and assembled accordingly, and the corporal fully acquitted. The spell was then broken—fine weather ensued—a prize was taken, and the corporal was himself again. On relating this story a few days afterwards to Captain Stewart of the Seahorse, he assured Captain Brenton that the early part of his last cruize had been particularly unsuccessful; but that while on the coast of Italy, it was discovered that a black cat was on board, which at once accounted for fortune having deserted the Seahorse. What was to be done? To throw the cat overboard was increasing the bad omen, and aggravating the case. Captain Stewart decided at once that he would run over to the coast of Sardinia, where pussy was landed with every proper respect and attention, and a prize soon after set the question at rest. The Captain was

a wise man, he took the only method of restoring good humour to his people, and was rewarded for it. It often requires as much judgment to deal with the weaknesses as with the vices of mankind.

In the early part of February Lord Collingwood told Captain Brenton, that in consequence of the length of time the Spartan had been kept off Toulon, it was his intention to give him a cruize off Egypt and Syria ; where he forthwith proceeded, remaining about six weeks, and returning at the end of that time, having taken one prize, and lost another of considerable value on the rocks on the east end of Candia. As there was something singular attending the capture of both these vessels, it may not be amiss to mention it in a few words. When the Spartan was in chase of the first off Cape Derne, night came on, when the chase was still seven or eight miles from the Spartan, and she was lost sight of. Captain Brenton said to his officers, "if I were now master of that vessel, I should keep away two points for some time, and then two more, and in the course of three or four hours, I would then bear up before the wind, and run for eight or ten leagues, and I think he will do so. I mean therefore to bear up at once, and run ten leagues to leeward, and then haul to the wind, as the best chance of seeing him in the morning ; he did so, and the following day at noon, when standing in for the African shore, the identical vessel was discovered coming out from the land, and by five o'clock was in possession of the Spartan. The master acknowledged that he had done just as Captain Brenton had imagined.

A few days afterwards a similar chase took place off the south coast of Candia, and the vessel being lost sight of at dark, the Spartan ran 10 leagues to leeward again, and furling all her sails waited for daylight, when the unfortunate Frenchman was seen coming down before the wind, and on seeing the Spartan, hauled round the S.E. point of the island. A long chase ensued; at length, the chase ran in near some broken rocks, and let go her anchor. She was immediately boarded by the Spartan's boats, while driving among the breakers; and delay having taken place in cutting the cable, she struck upon the point of a rock, and instantly sunk in deep water, giving the boats' crews barely time to escape. This was a serious loss, as the vessel had a valuable cargo from Marseilles to the Levant, and it was owing to the neglect of the boarding officer, who was ordered to take with him a *carpenter's* axe, to cut the cable with, as the sharpest; but he forgot to take *any*, and whilst hacking at the cable with a cutlass, the vessel struck, and was lost. The accident suggested to Captain Brenton the idea of having a chest fitted up for every boat in the ship, which should contain all things that might be required, in case of being separated from the ship; pistols, ammunition, carpenter's tools, provisions, candles, matches, sail needles, twine, compasses, &c, &c.

On the return of the Spartan to Malta, she was necessarily placed under quarantine; and Sir Alexander Ball, the port Admiral, having directed Captain Brenton to meet him at the quarantine office, asked him "how long he required to be ready for sea." The

answer was, "Not an hour, after provisions and water were sent on board." These were ordered immediately, and in the course of the day, the baggage of the British Ambassador, (the unfortunate Mr. Bathurst who was afterwards supposed to have been murdered near Ratisbon,) and that of Don L. Bardaxi, the Spanish Ambassador both going to the Court of Vienna, were sent on board. The Spanish Ambassador was accompanied by his lady, and a numerous suite; with these the Spartan sailed on the following day, and reached Trieste on the 18th of April, where the Ambassadors were landed; and Captain Brenton, in pursuance of the orders he had received, took the squadron consisting of the Amphion, Captain Hoste (afterwards Sir William); the Mercury, Captain The Honourable Henry Duncan (afterwards Sir Henry); and the Thames, Captain The Honourable W. Waldegrave, now Lord Radstock, under his orders.

From Captain Hoste who had recently reconnoitred the enemy's ports on the coast of Italy, Captain Brenton received much valuable information. At Ancona there were two French, and one Venetian frigates; at Venice, one frigate ready for sea, and another which had just hauled out of the basin, with three brigs; the object of this force when united was supposed to relieve Marmont, at this time shut up in Dalmatia, and whose view was suspected to be to make his escape to Ancona. On the 23rd April, observing a number of vessels collected together in the port of Pesaro, he resolved to attack them; and the following is a copy of his official letter upon this occasion.

"SPARTAN, TRIESTE, 27th APRIL.

"MY LORD,

"I have the honour to inform your Lordship, that being with the Amphion and Mercury off the town of Pesaro, on the 23rd instant, I observed a number of vessels lying in the mole, and thought it practicable to take possession of them; for which purpose, the ships were anchored with springs upon their cables, within half a mile of the town. The boats formed in two divisions, the first consisting of launches with carronades, and other boats carrying field pieces, under the orders of Lieutenant Phillott, first of the Amphion, took a station to the northward of the town; and the second division consisting of rocket boats, under the orders of lieutenant Baumgardt, second of the Spartan; both divisions being commanded by Lieutenant George Willes, first of the Spartan. As soon as these arrangements were made, I sent a flag of truce on shore to demand the surrender of all the vessels, adding, that should any resistance be made, the Governor must be answerable for the consequences, and I gave him half an hour to deliberate.

"At half-past eleven, a. m. the officer returned with a message that in half an hour I should receive his answer. I waited thirty-five minutes, from the time the boat came alongside, when observing a flag of truce on shore, but that troops were assembling in considerable numbers in the streets, and on the quays, and that the inhabitants were busily employed in dismantling the vessels; I hauled down the flag of truce, and fired one shot over the town to give warning to the women and children; and shortly after made the signal to commence firing, which was instantly obeyed by the ships and boats. At thirty-two minutes after twelve, observing several flags of truce hung out in the town, I made the signal to cease firing, and Lieutenant Willes pushed into the harbour with the boats, when he was informed that the Commander had made his escape with all the military.

"I considered the place as surrendered at discretion, and gave orders for the boats to be employed in bringing out the vessels, and the marines to be landed to protect them. Lieutenant Willes made the most judicious arrangements to carry this into execution.

The marines were drawn up under Lieutenant Moore, senior Lieutenant of Marines of the Amphion; the launches stationed in such a manner as to enfilade the principal streets; and the other boats' crews were employed in rigging the vessels, and laying out warps to haul them off with, as soon as the tide should flow. About two, p. m. I received a letter from the Commandant, dated half-past one, demanding another hour for deliberation. I refused him another moment, and told him that in case of resistance, I should destroy the town. By half-past six thirteen vessels deeply laden as per enclosed list were brought off; several others had been scuttled by the inhabitants, and sunk; some were still aground dismantled, there were besides a few in ballast, and a number of fishing vessels. I should have burned the merchant vessels but for the apprehension of setting fire to the town, and destroying the fishing boats. I therefore directed Lieutenant Willes to blow up the castle at the entrance of the harbour, and to bring off his people; this he did at seven o'clock.

"I am happy to say we did not hear of any lives being lost in the town, although many of the houses were much damaged. One man was killed by the explosion of the castle. After the match had been lighted, and our people had retreated, he approached it; a musket was fired over him to drive him away, but he sought refuge under the castle, and was buried in its ruins. As the enemy made no active resistance, I can only express my admiration at the zeal and promptitude with which Captain Hoste, and the Honourable Henry Duncan executed the orders which they received, and the manner in which they placed their ships. Lieutenant Willes upon this, as upon every other occasion, displayed the greatest energy, skill, and judgment; the arrangements he made for the defence of his party whilst in the harbour, and the expedition in sending out the prizes, do him the highest credit. Lieutenant Phillott and Lieutenant Baumgardt in the command of their respective divisions, and Lieutenant Moore in that of the Marines, were also exemplary.

"I have, &c.

"J. BRENTON."

"To VICE ADMIRAL LORD COLLINGWOOD."

LIST OF VESSELS TAKEN.

San Nicholas . . .	38	tons	Cargo, Oil and Almonds.
San Pratico. . . .	90	"	" Oil.
L'azzardo fortunato .	54	"	" Oil.
Name unknown . .	130	"	" Hides, oil and almonds.
Ditto, ditto	90	"	" Oil and hemp.
San Antonio . . .	120	"	" Oil.
San Antonio . . .	100	"	" Plank and spars
San Nio	56	"	" Morocco leather, hides, bees' wax, &c.
Name unknown . .	30	"	" Oil and hides.
Carlotta fortunata .	56	"	" Oil.
Name unknown . .	50	"	" Oil.
Ditto, ditto	60	"	" Oil, almonds, figs, candles, &c.
Providenza	30	"	" Oil.
Total	904	tons.	

As the oil was all sweet oil for Gallipoli, these cargoes were very valuable, and could not be worth less than £10,000, the value put upon them by Sir W. Hoste in his letter to his father.—See Hoste's Memoirs, vol. 1. p. 340.

In consequence of intelligence received from Trieste, and the urgent demands of the Austrian Commander in chief for the co-operation of a frigate, Captain Brenton was under the necessity of detaching the Amphion to the gulf of Fiume, a measure that he regretted the necessity for extremely; as he depended much upon the assistance he should receive from such an officer, as Captain Hoste, in his intended operations on the coast of Italy, which he hoped to keep in a perpetual state of alarm, and thus to prevent as much as possible any troops being detached to the army opposed to the Arch-duke John. Captain Duncan was

however still with him, and was also a most valuable coadjutor.

On the 2nd of May, the Spartan and Mercury attacked the port of Cesenatico, as detailed in the following letter.

"SPARTAN, OFF ROVIGNO, 5th MAY, 1809.

"MY LORD,

"On the 2nd instant, the Spartan and Mercury chased two vessels into the port of Cesenatico, the entrance to which is very narrow, and defended by a battery of two guns (twenty-four pounders) and a castle. Observing at the same time several other vessels laying there, I determined to take possession of them if possible. The coast is so shoal that we had only five fathoms, considerably out of gun shot of the town; I was therefore under the necessity of sending the boats a-head, and on each bow, with directions to make a signal when in three fathoms.

"We were by these means enabled to anchor by noon in a quarter three within range of grape of the battery, and very soon silenced it, when Lieutenant Willes, first of the Spartan, pushed in and took possession of it, turning the guns upon the castle and town, which were soon after deserted. We captured in the port twelve vessels, some laden with corn for Venice, and the others being in ballast, we filled them with iron and hemp out of the magazines for these articles, which were upon the quay, and in which the sails and rudders of some of their vessels were concealed. Another large vessel laden with iron, which lay at the entrance of the harbour, scuttled, we burned; and after blowing up the castle and magazine, destroying the battery and spiking the guns, we came off, I am happy to say, without the loss of a man, or any person being wounded, although much exposed to the fire of the battery, as well as musketry; nor was any damage done to the ships.

"The Mercury, from Captain Duncan's anxiety to place her as near the town as possible, took the ground, but in so favourable a position, as gave the fullest effect to her fire. She was

however, hove off by 5 p. m. without having sustained any damage.

"I never witnessed more zeal and energy than was evinced by Captain Duncan upon this occasion. Lieutenant Willes displayed great gallantry in taking possession of the battery the moment the ships had ceased firing, and in the expedition with which he turned the guns against the place; his exertion also in bringing out the vessels was very great. Much credit is also due to the officers and men of both ships for their activity.

"I have, &c.

"J. BRENTON."

"RIGHT HONOURABLE
"VICE ADMIRAL LORD COLLINGWOOD."

Captain Brenton dispatched the Mercury to convey the prizes to Trieste, and on the following day came up with them off Rovigno. But having been joined by the Thames, with orders for the Mercury to be sent to Trieste, and from thence with the British Minister's dispatches to Malta, he was under the necessity of sending the captured vessels into Rovigno, a port on the coast of Istria. The following letter to Lord Collingwood will shew the state of affairs at this time in the upper part of the Adriatic, and of the necessity for every exertion being made by the little squadron.

"SPARTAN, OFF ROVIGNO, 5th MAY, 1809.

"MY LORD,

"The Thames joined us last night, and I shall in consequence dispatch the Mercury immediately to Trieste for Mr. Stuart's dispatches, and direct her Captain to proceed to Malta with them.

"I trust your Lordship will approve of my having kept that ship hitherto, as it was necessary to watch both sides of the Adriatic, as well to prevent the evacuation of Dalmatia by

General Marmont's corps—as to prevent supplies getting into Venice; both of which purposes I hope have in a great measure been effected.

"I have sent the Amphion to watch the motions of the French army in Dalmatia, and to co-operate with the Austrians under General Strokowitz. With the Spartan and Mercury I have been on the coast of Romagna, at the express desire of His Imperial highness the Arch-duke John, in order to cut off the communication between its forts and Venice. I beg leave to refer your Lordship to my letter of this day for a detail of our proceedings on the 2nd instant, and enclose a duplicate of that of the 27th ultimo.

"I have this moment received a letter from General L'Epine, in which is the following passage. 'General Marmont has given very severe orders to arm the inhabitants of Veglia and Pago, under the direction of some of his troops, which are expected there, in order to oppose the Austrians; the whole population of these islands are very averse to the project, and have the most eager desire to see our troops take possession of their country, therefore I have given orders immediately that a couple of companies should be embarked in the neighbourhood from Fiume to attack these islands, and take possession of them before the arrival of the French. I advise you of that disposition, that you may be in the case to assist our troops in the enterprize, and I have no doubt that you will be disposed to do it.'

"This letter was addressed to Captain Hoste, in consequence of my having sent him off Zara; but in order to effect the object of it, I shall proceed instantly off those islands in the Spartan, adding our force to that of the Amphion, and I shall send the Thames to blockade Venice.

"I have, &c.

"J. BRENTON."

"VICE ADMIRAL LORD COLLINGWOOD."

A letter of the 29th April had been sent from Mr. Baird, the British Agent at Fiume, to Mr. Jackson,

the Charge' des affaires at Trieste, requesting he would inform the British Commander, by the earliest opportunity, that the Austrians had entered Trau, on the coast of Dalmatia, without finding any French there; that eighteen vessels had gone from Zara to Pago with troops, and that it was believed General Marmont and his staff were with them, and that his intention was probably to get to Ancona.

About the same time, the following letter reached Captain Brenton, from Mr. Bathurst, the British Ambassador, whom he had brought to Trieste in the Spartan, dated Vienna, 27th April, 1809.

"I have been unable from illness to apply to any business whatever since my arrival here, you must therefore not be surprised at my silence.

"The turn which the war has taken upon the Danube is not altogether favourable. The enclosed bulletin will put you *au fait* of the operations of the two armies. The Arch-duke Charles has since been separated from General Hiller, and has fallen back to the frontiers of Bohemia. General Hiller was expected at Brannau yesterday, and will probably retire towards Saltzburg, and the Tyrol. In this situation the Capital is left open, but it is not imagined that the French will risk advancing with an Austrian army on each flank.

"'The Emperor is still in the vicinity of Enns.'

"'In every other direction the war has taken a favourable turn, and the dispositions of the different powers of Europe seem favourable to the Austrian cause; even Russia indicates no desire of becoming hostile.'

"The firmness of the government is not shaken, though the first opening of the campaign has not answered their expectation. Pray let me recommend to you the most cordial co-operation with the Austrian army in Italy. It is probable the Arch-duke

John will for the present remain upon the defensive in the Venetian States, your station will therefore become of the greatest importance.

"Believe me, &c.

"R. BATHURST."

On the 7th of May, General L'Epine writes from Trieste as follows :—

"SIR,

"Captain Flanegan, who will deliver this letter, is appointed to have the command of the various Austrian armed vessels, which are employed in the blockade of Venice, and is ordered to follow your directions, as long as you intend to remain before that place. I beg therefore you may be so good as to concert with him such dispositions as you may think most proper to attain the intended purpose, which is to prevent the enemy from receiving supplies.

"By the same opportunity I have the honour to acquaint you that I have received a dispatch from the Arch-duke John, in which he mentions his most earnest desire, that the whole force under your command should go as soon as possible to the coast of Dalmatia, and particularly towards Zara, where he wishes that an attempt might be made by the British men of war, firing against that place, or in any other way, that might draw the attention of the enemy, and operate a diversion, giving at the same time a signal for the insurrection of the inhabitants to break out, who expect nothing else than the occasion; whilst our troops will make a resolute attack against the province on the other side. I lose no time to let you know this intention of the Arch-duke, being persuaded, after the disposition you have been pleased to exert, and which are used to direct your motions, that every exertion will be employed from your part to answer the above proposition.

"I have the honour, &c.

"L'EPINE, MAJOR GENERAL."

"COMMODORE BRENTON,
COMMANDER OF H. B. M. FORCES, ADRIATIC."

This letter was accompanied by another, containing a list of the Austrian flotilla, with which Captain Brenton was desired to co-operate, consisting of two brigs of war, and a tartane stationed between Goro and Malamoco, with three gun boats, and five patroling boats in the neighbourhood of Cortelazzo. The vessels were especially intended to prevent any supplies getting into Venice coastwise. It then added,

"In Venice the enemy have at this time 7800 men: French, Italian, and militia. They have also

In the Lagune	4 gun boats, and 3 floating batteries.
At Malamoco	3 brigs, 3 gun boats, 3 floating batteries.
„ Lido	2 brigs, 2 „
„ Treporte	1 gun boat, 1 gun pirogue.
„ Venice	1 forty gun frigate, loaded with arms and ammunition, not intended to go out,

and fifty-nine gun pirogues disposed in the remainder of the Lagune. The Arch-duke John had got as far as Verona, but will not probably advance further till the Arch-duke Charles shall again take the offensive.

"Signed, L'EPINE,
"MAJOR GENERAL."

"COMMODORE BRENTON, &c. &c."

In consequence of the state of things as detailed in the preceding correspondence, Captain Brenton felt much solicitude to comply, as far as his very limited means would enable him, with the wishes of the Arch-duke John, both as regarded the preventing supplies reaching Venice from the coast of Romagna, as well as to give every possible annoyance to the French army in Dalmatia In order to effect the latter object he had detached the Amphion to cruize between Zara

and Fiume, and the Thames was ordered to proceed off Punto Maestro, to stop all vessels attempting to get into Venice. And as the French had seized a number of fishing boats on the coast of Romagna, which they had laden with provisions, with a view of their not being examined by the British cruizers; Captain Waldegrave was directed to take all vessels of that description, and to destroy all such as were so employed, and to warn all fishermen against such acts of hostility, lest they should forfeit the indulgence they had hitherto received as peaceable industrious people. Captain Waldegrave was also ordered to take the Austrian flotilla off Cortelazzo under his command.

Having made these arrangements, Captain Brenton proceeded in the Spartan to the gulf of Fiume, with the intention of protecting the islands on the coast of Croatia, still under the Austrian government, and driving the French out of the others. The following letter to Lord Collingwood will at once give the official detail of his operations to the 12th of May

"SPARTAN, OFF LUSSIN PICCOLO, 12th MAY, 1809.

"MY LORD,

"In my letter of the 6th instant I had the honour to inform your Lordship of my intention to assist the Austrians in getting possession of the islands on the coast of Croatia. On approaching Veglia on the 7th, I was told that it had surrendered the day before, and that the Austrians had gone on to Cherso. I received at the same time information of a French garrison consisting of 200 men, having fortified the Island of Lussin, with a determination to hold out till relieved. I proceeded directly for the port of Cherso, where the imperial troops arrived a few hours before us. I proposed to their Commandant, Lieutenant Colonel

Baron Peharnick, that a detachment should be embarked on board the Spartan, and an attack be immediately made upon Lussin, to which he assented, and came on board with one hundred and eighty men. We sailed from Cherso at daylight, on the 9th, accompanied by three trabacolos for the purpose of landing the troops. At two p.m. we arrived off the port of Lussin, and found the enemy prepared to receive us, having a battery on each side of the entrance of the bay, which is not more than two cables length across. From thence the bay runs to the S. E. about three miles in length, and in no part more than a quarter of a mile over. The shore on both sides high and rocky. At the extremity of the bay, the town is situated, and immediately above it, the citadel, a large stone building defended by eleven pieces of cannon.

"Our dispositions for the attack were immediately made, Baron Peharnick with fifty men in the boats of the Spartan, under the command of Lieutenant Willes, was to land to the southward of the western battery. Lieutenant Fagan commanding the royal marines of this ship, with his own party, and a detachment of Austrians embarked in two of the trabacolos for the purpose of attacking the eastern battery, whilst the ship was to run in and engage both of them.

"This plan was put in execution at three p.m. and both batteries carried after a very short resistance, the enemy retreating to the citadel.

"Baron Peharnick and myself having reconnoitred the town from an eminence, we were of opinion that the place might be taken by an immediate attack. Accordingly the imperial troops which were landed on the peninsula moved forward. Lieutenant Willes in the boats, accompanied by Lieutenant Fagan's detachment in the trabacolos, ran up the bay accompanied by the ship. Upon approaching the town I sent a flag of truce forward, to summon it to surrender, but it was fired upon from the quay and houses. Lieutenant Willes instantly pushed forward in the most gallant manner with his boats, and found an anchorage for the ship, within pistol shot of the town, of which I availed myself

immediately. One of the trabacolos with the marines and imperialists was at this moment sunk by the fire from the citadel, happily no lives were lost, and the troops landed to the left of the town, from whence they dislodged a party of the enemy that opposed them, the ship opening her fire upon the citadel.

"At twenty-two minutes past five a flag of truce was hoisted at the citadel, and the firing ceased. An officer came off to apologize for the flag of truce being fired at by mistake, and to know what terms we would grant. Our answer was, that the garrison should surrender at discretion, and an hour given for deliberation; at the expiration of which time a peremptory refusal was returned, and the firing recommenced on both sides; the remainder of the troops were landed, and the heights occupied to the right and left of the town. At half-past eight, finding the citadel silenced, I ceased firing, to give the troops an opportunity of advancing to surround it, or to storm it if practicable, and sent a field piece to Lieutenant Willes to cover them. At eleven, a sharp fire of musketry took place between the advance posts and the enemy. I immediately ordered Lieutenant Baumgardt to move forward with a twelve pounder carronade, and place it on an eminence to the right of the citadel. I sent another to Lieutenant Willes on the left, with directions for the troops to fall back upon their guns, that the ship might renew her fire. By three a.m. the batteries were erected within three hundred yards to the right and left of the citadel, and Baron Peharnick sent me word that the troops had retreated into the rear of them. A heavy fire commenced immediately, which was returned from the citadel. At four, a flag of truce came off with proposals to surrender, on condition of the garrison being sent to Italy: this I positively refused, and continued firing till five minutes after six, when they surrendered at discretion.

"I feel particularly grateful to Lieutenant Colonel Baron Peharnick for his active and cordial co-operation; the ability with which he posted his troops during the night, and his unwearied exertions do him the greatest honour. He speaks in high terms of the officers and men belonging to H. M. S. under

my command. It is with much satisfaction I corroborate his testimony, and add mine to the good conduct of the Imperial officers and troops. The Chasseurs particularly distinguished themselves.

"I have had frequent opportunities to observe the merit of Lieutenant Willes first of the Spartan, and I do assure your Lordship, that in every part of his duty it is truly conspicuous. I am at a loss which to admire most, his intrepidity, zeal, or judgment.

"The conduct of Lieutenant Baumgardt, second lieutenant, is equally meritorious upon this occasion; both these officers had very considerable difficulties to encounter in getting their guns upon the height, and the activity with which this service was performed was a subject of admiration to our allies, and of surprise to our enemies, who deemed it impracticable.

"From Mr. Slinner, the master, I experienced the greatest assistance, as well in working and placing the ship, as in directing the guns, having given him the command of the main deck in the absence of the other officers.

"The Royal Marines under Lieutenants Fagan and Fotterell distinguished themselves so much by their steadiness and gallantry, that Baron Peharnick gave them the advanced post during the night within pistol shot of the enemy. It is but just to the petty officers and ship's company to say, that their coolness and cheerful exertions during such a variety of service, entitle them to my warmest approbation. They seemed to vie with each other in supporting the honour of their country, and fully succeeded.

"I am happy to say that we have lost no one, only two Imperialists and one English wounded. The ship has suffered very little, having taken such a position as to be below the range of the enemy's guns, while the citadel was exposed to our fire, and nearly destroyed. The enemy had two killed and one wounded.

"A number of merchant vessels were found in the port, but as it did not appear that they had ever navigated under the enemy's flag, and are in general the property of the inhabitants, we have given them up; two only, being Italians, were made prize of.

"The prisoners are to proceed to Fiume, under the escort of the Imperial troops, excepting the officers, who are on board the Spartan to be landed at Trieste.

"I have the honour to enclose a list of the garrison, guns, &c. and of the killed and wounded.

"I have, &c.

"J. BRENTON."

"To VICE-ADMIRAL LORD COLLINGWOOD."

List of Garrison, guns, military stores, &c. found in the Citadel and Batteries of Lussin, 10th May, 1809.

Infantry.	*Rifle Corps.*	*Artillery.*
1 Captain	1 Captain	1 Captain
1 Lieutenant	1 2nd Lieutenant	1 Serjeant Major
1 2nd ditto	2 Serjeants	1 Serjeant
5 Serjeants	2 Corporals	1 Bombardier
7 Corporals	41 Rank and File	1 Corporal
2 Drummers		14 Artillery men
90 Rank and File		Total—173.

Iron Guns	24 pounders	.....	6
	6 "	.....	7
	4 "	.....	2
	2 "	.....	1
Brass Guns	4 "	.....	2
Total		.....	18

Muskets 568
Blunderbusses 8
Powder .... 30 barrels.
A quantity of shot of every description.
Forge for heating shot apparatus complete.
Provisions for garrison for 3 months.

Killed and wounded—
British wounded 2
Austrian 1

French killed—
2 Rank and File.
1 Ditto Wounded.

"J. BRENTON."

The nature and variety of the service in getting possession of Lussin, and the imperative duty of giving due credit to the Austrians for the share they had in the affair, unavoidably extended this letter to a great length.

It may now, in justice to the officers and men engaged in the expeditions, which followed each other with so much rapidity between the 23rd of April and the 9th of May, be considered excusable to lay before the reader, Lord Collingwood's letter acknowledging the official communication.

"VILLE DE PARIS, OFF TOULON, 10th JUNE, 1809.

"SIR,

"I have received your letter of the 27th April, and two of the 5th May. The first informing me of an attack made by the Spartan, Amphion, and Mercury, upon the town of Pesaro, on the 23rd April, and the capture of all the vessels in that port; the latter describing your operations which were equally successful at the port of Cesenatico on the 2nd May.

"The dexterity and skill with which these two important services were performed, are exceedingly satisfactory to me; and the sucess with which they were attended, is an ample proof of the judicious arrangements made, and the ability with which the whole was conducted, and terminated without injury to the assailants. In Captains Hoste and Duncan you had able assistants, and the judicious conduct of Lieutenant Willes deserves the highest commendation.

"I recommend you to have made a number of small iron wedges, about three inches long, for the purpose of bursting guns which you wish to destroy. Those spiked are soon restored to service again; the wedge seldom fails to disable them entirely. The gun must be fired with a bit of slow match, to give time to remove out of the reach of explosion.

"I am, &c.

"Signed, "COLLINGWOOD."

On the 4th of July his Lordship gives the following answer to the official account of the capture of Lussin.

"VILLE DE PARIS, OFF TOULON, 4th JULY, 1809.

"SIR,

"I have received your letter of the 12th May, informing me of your having attacked and taken the citadel and defences of the Island of Lussin, in which service Lieutenant Colonel Baron Peharnick and one hundred and eighty Austrians had co-operated.

"The testimony you give of the zeal, enterprize, and good judgment of Lieutenant Willes on the occasion, and the meritorious exertions of the other officers and men of the Spartan employed on this service, is exceedingly gratifying to me.

"Could anything add to the satisfaction at the annoyance which you have given to the enemy, and the credit which has attached to His Majesty's arms, in the present instance, it would be the assurance you give of the active and cordial co-operation afforded by the Commander and troops of His Imperial Majesty.

"I am, &c.

"COLLINGWOOD."

In a letter from his Lordship to Lord Mulgrave, then First Lord of the Admiralty, he thus adverts to this affair. "I cannot say too much to your Lordship of the zeal and talent of Captain Brenton; of these he gives proof whenever he is employed, and he seems to be everywhere. At Lussin he undertook and accomplished a service which would have established a reputation, had he never had another opportunity; and now at Cerigo his conduct has not been less distinguished."*

From Lussino the Spartan being joined by the Amphion, Captain Brenton pushed for Trieste, and on his reaching the bay, received intelligence that the French army having crossed the Lizonzo, on the 13th, were in

* Correspondence and Memoirs of Lord Collingwood, p. 554.

possession of the heights of Optehina, commanding Trieste; and while off Peran, on the 18th, they had the mortification to see them enter Trieste. The prizes which the little squadron had taken at Pesaro, were all in that port, about six of the most valuable were seen coming out, and by the greatest exertion of the young midshipmen who had the charge of them, succeeded in getting under the guns of their own ships; the others of course fell into the hands of the French, as did all those which had been taken at Cesenatico, and had been sent into Rovigno. As the vessels which escaped were not in a state to be sent to Malta, the two captains with the consent of their officers and people chartered two Greek polacre ships, on board of which they shipped their cargoes, and sent them to Malta; whilst they remained on the coast of Istria in readiness to act in any manner in which they could best afford assistance to the Austrian towns, now rapidly falling into the hands of the French. The following letter to Captain Brisbane, off Corfu, contains a detail of affairs at the time in the Adriatic.

"SPARTAN, OFF PERAN, 19th MAY, 1809.

"SIR,

"A corps of the French army, under General Miolis, passed the Lizonzo on the 13th; and on the 17th, occupied the heights of Optehina, when a skirmish took place between the advanced posts and the Austrians.

"It was reported that the enemy were prevented from entering Trieste by the vicinity of the Austrian General Giulai, who was at Laybach with 15,000 men, whilst General Zach, with a detachment was in possession of the pass of Prevolt. Yesterday, however, the enemy entered Trieste at ten a. m. from which circumstance I fear they are no longer under apprehensions of

being attacked by the Austrian army, and that they will form their junction with General Marmont in Dalmatia. They have also sent another corps to take possession of Fiume.

"I think it of the highest importance that this intelligence should reach you as soon as possible, that you may forward it to Malta; and at the same time stop any vessels that may be on their way to Trieste or Fiume. I cannot spare a ship, having only the Amphion with me. I therefore send this by a trabacolo.

"The Thames is off Venice, I have sent a vessel to recall her, and upon her joining, I trust we shall be able to prevent the Russians* from going to Ancona, which (in the event of the French having only taken possession of this country for the purpose of pillage, and with the intention of falling back again) I think it likely they may be obliged to attempt.

"If there are only the two French frigates at Corfu, and you have received no further information, since your last by the Thames, you will immediately send what sloops of war you may have under your orders to join me between Lussino and Ancona.

"The Island of Lussin, captured by His Majesty's ship under my command, and two companies of Imperial troops, on the 10th instant, proves to be at this moment a most valuable acquisition. Thither all the vessels and merchants from Istria have repaired, and it affords a port for the Austrian flotilla. Should there be no hopes of the Austrians regaining possession of the coast, they will all proceed to Malta, or Sicily, for which purpose I am particularly anxious to have some disposable vessels of war.

"I am, &c.

"J. BRENTON."

"To CAPTAIN BRISBANE,

"(Or the Captain of any of H.M.S. off Corfu.)"

Captain Brenton was fully aware of his very great responsibility in thus continuing in the Adriatic, notwithstanding the order he had received from Lord Col-

* Three Russian line of battle ships which had been long at Trieste.

lingwood, to leave that station; and he also well knew how rigid his Lordship was in exacting the most implicit obedience to his commands. He felt however that an imperative duty called upon him to give all the aid in his power to the Austrians, with whose precise situation the Admiral could not be acquainted. He therefore wrote the following letter to account for his conduct.

"SPARTAN, OFF LUSSIN, 26th MAY, 1809.

"MY LORD,

"The Redwing has just joined me with your Lordship's orders of the 18th April, which I should have put into immediate execution, but from the important and unexpected events which have taken place in the vicinity, since they were written.

"The success of the Arch-duke Charles on the 21st ult. was followed by a reverse; the left wing of the Austrian army being defeated. The Arch-duke was in consequence obliged to retreat towards Vienna, and the Arch-duke John, who had advanced as far as Verona, was under the necessity of falling back first to Cornegliano, and afterwards to Villach. The French under General Miolis, taking advantage of this movement, passed the Lizonzo on the 13th with the intention of taking possession of Trieste, which occasioned a general panic in that city, and induced many of the merchants and inhabitants to fly with their property on board of such vessels as they could procure in the port.

"The capture made by H. M. S. under my command, assisted by two companies of Croatian troops, on the 10th instant, off the Island of Lussin, (a detail of which I have the honour to enclose for your Lordship's information) has become of much importance in affording them a safe harbour.

"The Spartan and Amphion arrived off Trieste on the 16th, and found the heights of Optchina occupied by the enemy. The Austrian flotilla consisting of two brigs, and nine gun boats under

sail in the bay, and a number of vessels of every description in a state of utmost distress and confusion from the precipitate departure.

"The Russian squadron was at the same time ready for sea. The Imperial vessels anchored on the 17th in the bay of Peran in order to complete their equipment. The French marched into Trieste on the same day. On the 18th the Spartan and Amphion anchored in Peran. I had dispatched the Imperial brig to recall the Thames, which arrived on the 19th. The Imperial convoy sailed on the 20th for Lussin, and on the 21st His Majesty's ships left the bay.

"Under the idea that a junction might be formed between the Russian squadron, and that of the French in Ancona, it was my intention to have endeavoured to burn the latter with rockets, and accordingly directed our course towards the latter place, but calms prevented our getting further than Rimini before last night, when anxious lest H. M. ships might be wanted on the coast of Dalmatia, and the wind coming to the southward, I pushed for the place where we have just arrived, the convoy having anchored only a few hours before us.

"The latest accounts we can procure are as follow, that the French still occupy Trieste, and that they are hourly expected at Fiume, which the Austrian troops and gun vessels have quitted and gone to Segna: that General Meydick is still successful in Dalmatia, and that General Marmont is shut up in Zara, from whence it is probable he will, (if not relieved by the army from Istria,) endeavour to make his escape. Colonel Meydick commanding the Imperial flotilla at Segna, is very urgent for the co-operation of the British frigates.

"The vessels which have taken refuge in Lussin, as well as the island itself, are in great distress from the want of provisions, &c. and from the state in which we left them, the batteries are very defenceless.

"Having seriously considered all these circumstances, and the effect which might at such a moment be produced upon the mind of the inhabitants by that force being weakened, which they are

so accustomed to look up to for protection; I trust I shall only anticipate your Lordship's wishes by remaining on the coast, until the senior officer off Corfu can be informed of the situation of affairs.

"I wrote to Captain Brisbane on the subject, on the 19th, by an Austrian brig, but am informed that she has only sailed for Corfu this morning. I shall therefore dispatch the Redwing with this, and with the Amphion and Thames use our utmost efforts in assisting the Austrian army in fortifying the island, and facilitating (if necessary) the evacuation of Fiume and Segna.

"Several reports corresponding in general with each other, particularly as to dates, have lately reached us of a battle having taken place near Schoenbrun, and that the Imperialists had beaten the French, but little confidence is placed in them. The pass of Prevalt is however believed to be still in possession of General Giulai with 15,000 Croatians, which accounts for the French not having advanced more rapidly in that quarter.

"I have, &c.

"J. BRENTON."

"To VICE-ADMIRAL LORD COLLINGWOOD."

On the 28th May, while off Lussin with the Spartan and Amphion, Captain Brenton fell in with a squadron of line of battle ships under Captain Hargood, consisting of the Northumberland, Excellent, and Montagu; and no sooner had the Commander received Captain Brenton's report of the state of Trieste, than he decided upon making an immediate attack upon the Russian squadron in that port, and made all sail for it, sending the Spartan and Amphion a-head. The squadron got into the bay at day-light on the 29th, and had the wind continued, would undoubtedly have succeeded in their object without much loss; but the line of battle ships were first becalmed on the south shore, and after-

wards involved in one of those extraordinary currents so common in the Adriatic, that although apparently having sufficient way for steerage, yet with every sail full, neither helm or sails had any power over the ships, which were to use the common phrase among seamen, completely in irons; whilst at the same time, the Spartan and Amphion, not a league to the northward, were perfectly free.

This most mortifying detention continued until five o'clock in the evening, when the sea breeze set in, and the influence of the current was no longer felt; but the Russians and the French had made good use of their time. They had from four o'clock in the morning a conviction that an attack was intended; and the Russian ships were hauled close into shore, and moored head and stern with their broadsides commanding the entrance of the harbour. Their inside guns were landed, and batteries made with them all along the Eastern, and Northern shores of the bay, manned with French troops; they had also forges for heating shot, and every preparation for a vigorous defence, which fourteen hours could give them, assisted as they were by several thousands of French troops. These preparations passed under the immediate notice of Captain Brenton and Captain Hoste, who were together the whole day, and could see all the operations of the enemy through their spy-glasses, frequently going together on board the Commodore to make their report during the day. Both agreed that in the early part of the day, success to the British Squadron might be considered as certain; but they were also both of opinion that as the day declined,

the prospect was clouded over; and long before six o'clock they had expressed their conviction to the Commodore that an attack would be hopeless. At this hour when the sea breeze set in, the Commodore taking Captain Brenton into his cabin, requested he would give a decided official opinion as to the expediency of making an attempt upon the Russian ships. To which Captain Brenton answered, "Were I in your place commanding this squadron, I certainly would not make the attempt; the enemy are now too strong, and the hazard to the British squadron would be too great." The Commodore requested the first Lieutenant might be sent for to hear this opinion, when Captain Brenton said, "If you will turn the hands up on the quarter deck, I will repeat what I have said, before the whole ship's company." This was deemed conclusive, and the signal was made immediately for the squadron to haul their wind. Some dissatisfaction was manifested at this decision, and expressed to the great annoyance of the Commodore; but a moment's consideration would have convinced the most ardent and intrepid officer in the navy, that not only all chance of success was out of the question, but that the retreat of the British Squadron from the port would have been very doubtful, if possible. The sea breeze had set in fresh at six o'clock, and would, in all probability, have lasted till midnight. Under such circumstances how was a crippled ship to have made her retreat? and what must have been the situation of the squadron, exposed to the fire of three line of battle ships, converted into floating batteries, their guns from the side next the shore all landed and become heavy

batteries, manned with French troops, and at least 5000 of these occupying Trieste? Captain Brenton and Captain Hoste never ceased to congratulate themselves as having been the means of saving the squadron from the most severe loss, if not from destruction.

The Squadron now proceeded to the coast of Romagna, and another attack was made upon the town of Pesaro. Captains Brenton and Hoste landed in the command of the Marines, but troops arriving from all parts, the Commodore found it expedient to call off the attacking party. (Note in the Life of Sir Wm. Hoste, Vol. 1. p. 341.)

On the 5th of June the Spartan was ordered to proceed to Malta to refit, and complete her stores and provisions, and from thence to go to Messina, and form a part of Rear Admiral Martin's squadron for the defence of Sicily. In the latter end of June she left Malta; proceeded to Messina, and was from thence ordered off Naples to join the Squadron employed under Rear Admiral Martin, in co-operating with the British forces under Major General Stuart, which had taken possession of the Islands of Ischia and Procida.

Captain Brenton shortly after received the following letter from Lord Collingwood, dated,—

"VILLE DE PARIS, OFF TOULON, 30th JULY, 1809.

"SIR,

"I have received your letter of the 26th May, stating to me your reasons for remaining in the Adriatic, after the receipt of my order of the 18th of April, and detailing your proceedings. Under the circumstances you have represented, I fully approve of your having continued in that sea, until Captain Har-

wood joined, and I feel much satisfaction, Sir, in this opportunity of signifying the high sense I entertain of your judicious measures, and active services, both in aid of the Austrians, and for the annoyance of the enemy, while you were in the Adriatic sea; but there were more ships in that quarter, than the state of the fleet would admit of, which obliged me to recall the Spartan.

"I am, Sir, &c.

"COLLINGWOOD."

"CAPTAIN BRENTON,
"H.M.S. SPARTAN."

Captain Brenton's mind was completely set at rest by this letter, which not only conveyed approbation of the responsibility he had incurred, but expressed high commendation for his conduct, and even as it were apologized for recalling him from the Adriatic, which to those who know Lord Collingwood, will appear as a very strong testimony of his approval. This testimony was subsequently confirmed by the following letter.

"VILLE DE PARIS, AT SEA, 5th NOV. 1809.

"SIR,

"Having transmitted to the Secretary of the Admiralty your letter describing the particulars of the attack made on the fort, and defences of the Island of Lussin, and of the surrounding Islands, I am commanded by their Lordships to convey their sentiments of admiration at the intrepidity, zeal, and judgment so eminently displayed on that occasion, and I beg you will please to communicate the same to the officers, seamen, and marines, employed under your orders on that service.

"I am, &c.

"COLLINGWOOD."

"CAPTAIN BRENTON,
"H.M.S. SPARTAN."

CHAPTER XIII.

RETURN TO MALTA TO REFIT. — SUDDEN OFFER OF JOINING THE EXPEDITION AGAINST THE IONIAN ISLANDS AS SUDDENLY ACCEPTED. — CAPTURE OF ZANTE, CEPHALONIA, AND CERIGO. — APPROBATION OF LORD COLLINGWOOD. — CRUIZE ON THE COAST OF ITALY. — ACTION OFF NAPLES, VICTORY, AND SEVERE WOUND; CARRIED TO PALERMO AND MALTA. — LETTERS ON THE SUBJECT, AND EXTRACT FROM HIS PERSONAL MEMORANDA. — SAILS FOR ENGLAND.

AFTER the evacuation of these Islands, the Spartan was sent to convey the Sicilian troops to Palermo, and from thence was ordered to Messina. It was at this time that her Captain first heard, in a conversation with the Commander of the Forces, Sir John Stuart, and Captain Spranger, the senior Captain of that Port, of an intended attack upon the Ionian Islands, when Captain Spranger mentioned that the Spartan was to be one of the squadron for that expedition. The ship however having been ordered subsequently to Malta to refit, was sent from thence to Palermo; but having met with bad weather off Pantellaria, and received much injury in the foremast, they were under the necessity of bearing up again for Malta, and the ship was hauled under the shear for the purpose of having the mast taken out. Whilst undergoing this

repair in the latter end of September, Captain Brenton was dining with Sir Alexander Ball, the Port Admiral at Sant Antonio, and after dinner Sir Alexander took him aside, and communicated to him a letter which he had just received from Captain Spranger at Messina, informing him that the expedition against the Ionian Islands was on the point of sailing, but no mention was made of the Spartan, as that ship was considered as detached, or on other service. Captain Brenton repeated to Sir Alexander the conversation above alluded to with Captain Spranger respecting the expedition; and requested, as the service upon which he had been recently employed, was not of very great importance, that he might be dispatched to Zante, the first Island to be attacked, where he might yet be in time. Sir Alexander expressed his apprehension that from the state in which the Spartan then was, she could not be ready for some days, and that it would be consequently too late. Captain Brenton urged that he might be permitted to make the trial; and having received the sanction of his kind friend, immediately set off for Valletta. By the time he could get on board the ship at the dock yard it was nearly nine o'clock, and the people were all in their hammocks; but the hands were at once turned up, and no sooner was the cause known, than all was joy and alacrity. The foremast had been got in that evening, but the rigging was on shore. The keys of the dock-yard, with the attendance of the officers was forthwith procured; the spars for making the topsail yards were got upon the quarter-deck, and the carpenters of the ship employed in making them. Before daylight

great progress was made in rigging the ship. The artificers of the dock-yard now came on board, and caulking and other repairs went on rapidly. By five o'clock in the evening the ship began to warp down to the entrance of the harbour, and as no powder could be received on board while in the dockyard, the launch was sent to receive it at the magazine ; and to wait in Bizzy Bay for the ship. At six o'clock the artificers were put into their boats, leaving much of their work undone, and even the caulking stages hanging over the side. The ship made sail with a fair wind out of the harbour, and picking up the launch, ran clear of the port, when the powder was taken on board, the boats hoisted in, and all sail made for Zante, where they arrived on the morning of the 8th, but no ships were seen there. Captain Brenton immediately proceeded to make his observations as to the batteries and landing, with whatever other remarks which might be useful in making the attack ; and having passed the day in this service, the next morning when running round the N.E. end of the Island, he had the pleasure of seeing the Warrior, Belle Poule, Philomel, and transports. He was on board the Warrior at seven, to the great surprize of Captain Spranger, who was much gratified by the information Captain Brenton had brought him, and on which the General (Oswald) and the Commander immediately began to form the plan of attack. The troops landed the following morning under cover of the Spartan and Belle Poule's guns, and after a very little resistance a flag of truce was hung out from the fortress, and in the course of the evening the Island surrendered.

On the 10th the Commodore proceeded next to attack Cephalonia, the Commandant of which surrendered without resistance, on the squadron entering the bay; and as soon as it was taken possession of, Captain Spranger detached Captain Brenton in the Spartan, with two companies of the 35th regiment to attack Cerigo; permitting him to call on his way off Zante, and to take one of the prizes captured there with the Island, a beautiful brigantine, which he was to man from the Spartan, and with a portion of the 35th to accompany him in attacking Cerigo. The Spartan arrived off Cerigo, and as Captain Spranger's orders were positive as to running no risk of losing men, in the event of the enemy being found in force, and as a large body of troops were seen in the castle of Capsali, a very strong fortress, and a detachment at the port in the Bay of Capsali; some doubt was entertained by Captain Brenton and Major Clarke commanding the detachment of the 35th, as to the propriety of making the attack. Captain Brenton quoted Lord Nelson's sentiments upon such a case. "Whenever there is a doubt," said the hero, "always fight; the public will bear you out, whatever may be the consequences;" and this at once decided the question.—The following letter gives the particulars of the result of this conclusion.

"SPARTAN, OFF THE ISLAND OF CERIGO,
13th OCTOBER, 1809.

"SIR,

"In my last from Zante I expressed a hope that we might be able to reduce the Island of Cerigo, without any further reinforcement; this idea was strengthened by papers found upon the Governor of the Island, made prisoner at Zante.

"Major Clarke and myself decided upon making the first attack upon the forts and harbour of Arlemmino, in order to prevent the escape of any vessels which might be there. The forts are those of San Nicholas and San Joaquim. The first is a stone building mounting nine guns, the latter an embrasure battery of four guns. At four p.m. on the 9th, we ran into the bay, the forts opened upon us, but were both silenced in a few minutes by the ship and tender, whilst the troops under Major Clarke landing, made several prisoners; the enemy had one killed and one wounded upon this occasion; one man of the 35th was wounded on our side.

"At day-light on the 10th, we weighed with the intention of immediately attacking the castle of Capsali, in the bay of Cerigo; but variable winds prevented our getting round.

"At two p.m. the troops and marines were landed in a small cove in the bay of San Nicholas, and marched forward towards the castle, one watch of the Spartan following with three field pieces.

"I landed with the troops that I might be enabled to command the resources of the ship by signal, without the delay of sending messages; foreseeing that she could not be brought to act against the castle, while the wind continued southerly.

"The nature of the country rendered our approach to the castle extremely difficult, particularly for the guns which did not arrive till ten o'clock on the 11th instant, at the position which the troops occupied; a height on a level with the castle and within four hundred yards of it. A fire commenced on both sides with guns and musketry, which continued the greater part of the day. In the evening some rockets were landed from the ship, and in the course of the night some of them were thrown at the citadel. At daylight I ordered two twelve pounders to be landed from the ship, but before they could be got on shore, a flag of truce came out, with an offer of surrendering, provided the garrison were allowed to retire to Corfu. This was refused, and after some deliberation, the Commandant surrendered on the same terms as were granted to Zante and Cephalonia.

"At ten o'clock our troops took possession of the castle.

"It is to the zeal and ability of Major Clarke, and the judicious arrangements he made of the force under his command, that the speedy reduction of this strong fort is to be attributed. The enemy were cut off from any prospect of relief or escape, and were convinced that our means of offence were hourly increasing.

"I cannot speak too highly of the officers and men of both services, as well in respect to their cheerful perseverance under fatigue, as to their gallantry when opposed to the enemy.

"I am happy to say that our loss has been much less than might have been expected; one bombardier of the Royal Artillery killed, two privates of the 35th wounded.

"I cannot in justice to Lieutenant Willes, first of the Spartan, close this letter without saying, that fort San Joaquim of two eighteen, and two nine pounders, was completely silenced by the gallant manner in which he attacked it in the tender, with a party of the 35th Regiment on board.

"The inhabitants of the island received us with demonstrations of joy. I have sent Lieutenant Willes in the tender with the dispatches, and I shall remain off this place till I receive your further directions.

"I enclose for your information the articles of capitulation, together with a list of artillery, &c. &c. found on the island.

"I have, &c.

"J. BRENTON."

"CAPTAIN SPRANGER, &c. &c.

"WARRIOR."

Prisoners.	
Officers	9
Non-commissioned ditto	6
Rank and file	89
	104

Guns taken.	
Twenty-four pounders	1
Eighteen ditto	3
Fifteen ditto	1
Fourteen ditto	4
Nine ditto	21
Six ditto	4
Two ditto	2
One ditto	1
Eighteen ditto Carronades	2
	39

It is stated in the official letter respecting the capture of Cerigo, that the Governor of this Island was made a prisoner on the taking of Zante, and that papers containing much useful information had been found upon him. Amongst others, was the copy of a letter from him to the Governor of Corfu, stating that some Mainotes (natives of the Morea) having landed on the Island of Cerigo, he had endeavoured in vain to drive them off again, but not succeeding by his arguments—he added,—"Enfin je me suis avise de leur fair empoisoner les eaux, et par ce moyen quelques uns de ces miserables ont peri, et les autres s'enfuirent." Appalling as such an acknowledgment may be, and evidently given to the Governor of Corfu as a happy stratagem, for which the abominable perpetrator took credit, it had quite escaped the recollection of Captain Brenton; and his whole party might have become the victims of this unheard of system of treachery, but for the advice of a Greek Priest, who came to the British officers in the night, whilst on their march to attack the Castle of Capsali, and recommended that they should immediately place sentinels on the stream from which they took their water, and accurately examine it, if possible, to its source. He then repeated the story of poisoning the Mainotes, and explained how it had been done. A vast quantity of arsenic had been put into the body of a dead hog, and placed in the stream, above the spot where these people had encamped, and the water filtering through it became a deadly poison. On taking possession of the castle, Captain Brenton asked the Governor's housekeeper whether the story was true;

her answer was quite in character with the establishment to which she belonged, "E vero," said she, "ma non cattivo."

After the capture of the Ionian Islands, the squadron under Captain Spranger with the troops returned to Sicily, and Captain Brenton was left to cruize off the Islands, in order to be in readiness to give any assistance that might be required.

The following are Captain Brenton's own reflections at this period of his life.

"After the capture of Cerigo all active service ceased for the remainder of the year. I had the gratifying experience of having entirely gained the good opinion and confidence of the Commander in Chief. You will not fail, my darling children, to observe, and I hope with sincere gratitude, the blessings bestowed upon your father by a kind providence, which made the most untoward and unpromising circumstances turn out to his advantage; which preserved his life from the violence of the enemy, and the danger of the seas; and strengthened his health under every trial. 'O! that men would therefore praise the Lord for his goodness, and the wonders that he doth to the children of men.' This delightful verse ought never to be absent from our minds, when we contemplate the numerous blessings we have received."

While thus employed, he was naturally anxious to become acquainted with the resources of these Islands, and to learn the dispositions of the inhabitants towards their new allies; for in that light only could the English be considered; as they had, on hauling down the French

flag, not hoisted their own, but that of the Septinsular Republic. The following letter to Lord Collingwood, will give in a condensed form, the substance of the information he had obtained.

"SPARTAN, HARBOUR OF ARGOSTOLI, CEPHALONIA,
17th NOVEMBER, 1809.

"MY LORD,

"I beg leave to enclose for your Lordship's information a statistical account of this Island which Colonel Lowe* of the Corsican Rangers, Commandant of the Island, has had the goodness to procure for me, with the addition of his own remarks. I also enclose a table of the exports as well as the imports of the years 1793, 1800, and 1808.

"I selected these periods in order to ascertain the comparative state of commerce under the Venetians, Russians, and French. I send also a list of the shipping belonging to Cephalonia for this year. I am under great obligations to Colonel Lowe for obtaining every part of this information for me.

"The inhabitants seem very solicitous to enter into commercial speculations, but appear at the same time to be restrained by timidity, and want of confidence in themselves, from prosecuting them to any great extent. This I conclude will soon wear off.

"They have applied for permission to navigate under the British flag, but as that could not be granted, they have requested to be allowed a convoy to Malta. I have assured them of your Lordship's wish to promote as much as possible the prosperity of the Island, and have directed them to get their vessels in readiness for any convoy that might offer. Several have already arrived here from Zante in consequence.

"The Spider has arrived here from Messina with two transports, and with orders to take back five others to that place, which are required for the service of the army in Sicily: she will at the same time escort the prisoners taken at Cerigo. I shall

* The late Lieutenant General Sir Hudson Lowe.

direct her commander to give protection to such Septinsular vessels, as their owners may think proper to send, and having seen the transports safe into Messina, to convoy the trade to Malta, to which place he is directed to return by his original orders.

"Should your Lordship think proper to allow this port to be a rendezvous for the convoy hitherto sent to Patras, it is admirably situated for the purpose; and by this island becoming a depot for British manufactures and colonial produce, it would insure not only to Cephalonia, but to Zante also, abundant supplies of corn and cattle by the vessels coming from the Morea, and the Islands of the Archipelago. The want of corn begins to be already felt, so much so that speculations are talked of, for procuring it even from Malta.

"From what I can judge of the island, by the little I have had an opportunity of seeing, it appears to me, that by industry and confidence, its produce in most instances would be greatly augmented in a very short time. The soil is excellent, and scarcely a tenth part of the island is cultivated.

"I went a few miles inland with Colonel Lowe, in order to examine the nature of the forest, but was prevented by the weather from effecting my intentions. From all I can learn, many valuable spars may be procured here, and some timber at a cheap rate. The woods are all in the hands of the government, which would gladly enter into a contract to bring the timber to the water side. Colonel Lowe is endeavouring to procure an exact description of the trees, and the price they would probably fetch when ready for embarkation, which I shall forward to your Lordship by the earliest conveyance. I enclose also a survey of this harbour taken by Mr. Glen, the master of the Warrior.

"I have, &c.

"J. BRENTON."

"VICE ADMIRAL LORD COLLINGWOOD."

Captain Brenton soon after received the following gratifying letter from the Commander in chief upon the subject of the attack upon Cerigo.

"VILLE DE PARIS, AT SEA, 1st Nov. 1809.

"SIR,

"I have received from Rear Admiral Martin your letter of the 13th ult. with its enclosures directed to Captain Spranger of the Warrior, detailing your proceedings in the Spartan with a detachment of troops in the reduction of the island of Cerigo.

"It affords me great satisfaction in having again to express my warmest approbation of that zeal and ability, which have so eminently distinguished your services, particularly within the last six months, to the great annoyance of the enemy. And the speedy reduction of so strong a fort as Cerigo, with so small a loss, bespeaks that judicious management which commands success.

"Your report of the gallantry and good conduct of Lieutenant Willes is highly creditable to that officer, and I have not failed to point out his merits in this and former cases to the Lords of the Admiralty.

"I am, &c.

"COLLINGWOOD."

"To CAPTAIN BRENTON,
"H.M.S. SPARTAN."

This letter was followed by another in the month of January, 1810.

"VILLE DE PARIS, AT SEA, 16th JAN. 1810.

"SIR,

"Having communicated to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty your proceedings at Cerigo when that island was reduced, I have great pleasure in informing you, Sir, that their Lordships have been pleased to express their great satisfaction at the ability with which you conducted that service, and the spirit with which it was executed by the officers and ship's company of the Spartan.

"I am, Sir, &c.

"COLLINGWOOD."

"CAPTAIN BRENTON, SPARTAN."

Early in December the Spartan was ordered to proceed to Malta and refit, and in the beginning of January she sailed for Messina, and resumed her station under the command of Rear Admiral Martin, by whom Captain Brenton was sent off to Naples, in order to watch the movements of Murat, and his army intended for the invasion of Sicily. During the month of March he remained by the Rear Admiral's directions in the port of Messina, to direct the movements of the frigates and small vessels under the Rear Admiral's command, and to render all the assistance in his power to the British army charged with the defence of Sicily. Early in April he sailed for Naples, and continued cruising between that place, and the Island of Sicily, but without any material circumstance occurring until the 25th; when on that morning, being off Terracina with the Success and Espoir in company, several vessels were observed coming along shore, to which the British squadron immediately gave chase. The enemy ran for Terracina, and anchored in a small bay near the town, defended by two batteries, the following is Captain Brenton's official letter to Rear Admiral Martin.

"SPARTAN, GULF OF GAETA, 25th APRIL, 1810.

"SIR,

"This morning, at nine a.m. we observed several sail of merchant vessels between Monte Circello and Terracina, and immediately gave chase to them in company with the Success and Espoir. The enemy reached Terracina, and anchored in a small bay within pistol shot of the town, under the protection of two batteries and a number of troops which occupied an extensive

range of buildings. The crews of the vessels, one of which had guns, remaining on board for the purpose of defending them; the vessels were moored to the shore. I made the signal to prepare for anchoring, directing the Espoir to stand in and sound. She found twelve fathoms within half a mile of the batteries, a position which the Spartan and Success immediately occupied, and opened their fire upon the batteries; the armed boats of the two frigates covered by the Espoir then pushed in, boarded the ships (as per margin) and brought them out under an incessant fire of musketry from the store houses; the batteries being nearly silenced by the ships and sloop. Four or five small vessels had taken refuge under the town, but were hauled so near the shore, that I would not run the risk of exposing the people to a destructive fire, for an object of no importance, and made the signal to weigh.

"The firing began at thirty-six minutes past twelve, and continued till twenty minutes past one. I am happy to say we had a very small loss. I feel much indebted to Captain Ayscough of the Success, for the assistance received from him, and particularly to Captain Milford of the Espoir. From the light draught of water of the brig, I directed her to cover the boats, which was done in a most gallant and judicious manner, running close in shore and annoying the enemy with grape.

"The armed boats were under the command of Lieutenant Baumgardt, second of the Spartan, and the manner in which he led them to the attack was such, as to gain the admiration of all who witnessed it. He speaks in high terms of Lieutenant Sartorious, commanding the boats of the Success. Lieutenant Willes, first of the Spartan, of whose gallant conduct, I have had such frequent occasion to speak, was prevented by illness from taking this service upon himself as usual, but gave every possible assistance on board.

"Captain George Hoste of the Royal Engineers, accompanied me on this cruize, for the purpose of reconnoitring the enemy's batteries on the coast; his exertions were extremely useful in supplying the place of the absent officers at the guns.

"I never witnessed more zeal and good conduct than was displayed by all classes upon this occasion.

LIST OF VESSELS TAKEN.

1	Santa Rosalia	ship	six guns	wine, lead and ore
2	Name unknown	barque	"	lead ore
3	"	"	"	lead ore
4	"	"	"	lead ore

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"J. BRENTON."

'REAR ADMIRAL MARTIN, &c. &c. &c."

The little squadron continued cruizing off the bay of Naples until the 30th of April, when the Espoir was detached with the usual report of the enemy's vessels to the Rear Admiral.

In the midst of this trying, stirring, anxious life, it may be well to introduce an extract from a letter written home at this period, which shews that the energy and firmness of professional character were not incompatible with those softer feelings which form the happiness of domestic life; but that one principle suggested and supplied the elements of each.

"SPARTAN, OFF TRAPANI, 12th APRIL, 1810.

"Four years from this time, if my memory is correct, we had just taken up our residence at that earthly paradise, the Petits Capucins; and how little did we then think, that in the course of such a period as has elapsed, so many events would have occurred; that I should have had my liberty, and have passed three years on a foreign station.

"I know not what at this moment gave rise to these reflections; but this I know, that the retrospect excites gratitude, and that I

feel the fullest confidence for the future. From the same causes, perhaps at the end of the next four years, we may all be assembled, and offering up together our thanks for the innumerable blessings we have received. ——— will perhaps say I am psalm-singing again; but be it so; I take peculiar pleasure in recurring to the past, and often think there are very few who have had so much prosperity with so little ground to hope for it.

"Many have been more fortunate, but multitudes less so; and as to my captivity; I would not part with the remembrance of it for five thousand pounds. It was the happiest part of my life, and is always present to my recollection. The test of real happiness is to be sensible of it at the time; and that I recollect was my case, particularly when walking in the little avenue above the alcove. A fine moonlight evening, and having nothing to do, have turned my thoughts that way, and I felt inclined to put them on paper for your benefit."

On the 1st of May, the Spartan and Success having been a little to the northward of Ischia, Captain Brenton on re-entering the bay of Naples in the afternoon of that day, was not a little surprised to find the enemy's squadron so far out in the bay, as to give him a very reasonable prospect of bringing them to action, before they could regain the mole; and every sail was instantly set, and every effort made by both ships for this purpose; but the unsteadiness of the wind favoured them, and they were under shelter of the guns of Naples, before the two frigates could get within gun shot. This was felt by every one as a severe disappointment, and particularly by Captain Brenton, to whom this appeared as a golden opportunity snatched from him. The two frigates remained in the bay all the following day, the weather being squally, and the wind all round

the compass. Captain Brenton having given up all hopes that the enemy would venture out, as long as the Success was in company, made the signal for her Captain, and gave him orders to proceed ten leagues S.W. of the Island of Capri, thinking it probable that if only one frigate were in sight of the signal posts in the morning, the enemy would not hesitate with their superior force, consisting of a frigate of forty guns, a corvette of twenty-eight, a cutter of ten, and eight heavy gun boats, to attack her; especially should she be near their own batteries, under which they might retreat in case of being crippled.

In this he was not disappointed, for at six o'clock in the morning the whole squadron was seen coming out of the mole, and steering directly for the Spartan. The following is the official account of this, the last action in which Captain Brenton was engaged; as the wound received upon this occasion prevented his serving afloat for any length of time.

"SPARTAN, OFF THE BAY OF NAPLES, 3rd MAY, 1810.

"SIR,

"On the 1st instant, His Majesty's ships Spartan and Success chased the French squadron, consisting of one frigate of forty-two guns and three hundred and fifty men, one corvette of twenty-eight guns and two hundred and sixty men, one brig of eight guns and ninety-eight men, one cutter of ten guns and eighty men. They succeeded in getting into the mole of Naples, favoured by light and partial breezes.

"As I was sensible they would never leave that place of refuge, while two British frigates were in the bay, I directed Captain Ayscough to remain in the Success on my rendezvous, from five

to ten leagues S.W. of the island of Capri, continuing with the Spartan in the bay of Naples.

"At day-light this morning we had the pleasure of seeing the enemy's squadron as before mentioned, reinforced by eight gun boats, standing towards us in close line. The action began at fifty-six minutes after seven, exchanging broadsides when within pistol shot, passing along their line, and cutting off the cutter and gun boats. The enemy were under the necessity of wearing to renew their junction with them; but were prevented by the Spartan taking her station on their weather beam. A close and obstinate contest ensued; light and variable winds led us near the batteries of Baia, the enemy's frigate making all sail, to take advantage of their shelter. The crippled state of the Spartan not allowing her to follow, we bore up raking the frigate and corvette as we passed them, and succeeded in cutting off the brig. The corvette having lost her foretopmast effected her escape with the assistance of the gun boats. The latter had during the action galled us excessively, by laying on our quarter, and the severity of our loss, ten killed and twenty wounded, may in some measure be attributed to this circumstance.

"I was wounded myself about the middle of the action, which lasted two hours, but my place was most ably supplied by Mr. Willes, the first Lieutenant, whose merit becomes more brilliant by every opportunity he has of shewing it. He is without exception one of the best and most gallant officers I ever met with. To Lieutenants Baumgardt and Bourne I feel equally indebted for their exemplary conduct and gallantry.

"Captain Hoste, of the Royal Engineers, had been sent with me for the purpose of reconnoitring the enemy's position on the coast. Upon this occasion I requested him to take the command of the quarter deck guns, foreseeing that the whole attention of the first Lieutenant and myself would be required in manœuvering the ship, during the variety of service we were likely to expect. His conduct was truly worthy of the relationship he bears to my distinguished friend Captain Hoste of the Amphion.

"The intrepidity and zeal of Mr. Slenner, the master, was

very conspicuous; nor must I forget Mr. Dunn, the purser, who took charge of a division of guns on the main deck in place of their officer, absent in a prize with eighteen men, (which reduced our number to two hundred and fifty eight at the commencement of the action) he displayed the greatest gallantry. Much praise is also due to Lieutenants Fegan and Fotterell, of the Royal Marines, whose conduct was truly deserving of admiration.

"The Warrant, petty officers, and ship's company evinced a degree of enthusiasm that assured me of success at the earliest period of the action.

"To the light and fluctuating winds, to the enemy's being so near their own shores which are lined with batteries, they are indebted for the safety of their whole squadron, which at a greater distance from the shore, I do not hesitate to say, must have fallen into our hands.

"Among the killed we have to regret the loss of Mr. Robson, the master's mate, a young man of great promise.

"I enclose a list of killed and wounded, with the damage we have otherwise sustained.

"I have, &c.

"J. BRENTON."

"REAR ADMIRAL MARTIN."

LIST OF THE ENEMY'S SHIPS, &c. ENGAGED.

Ceres, frigate	42 guns	350 men, severely crippled, escaped under the batteries
Fama, corvette	28 guns	260 men, lost her fore-topmast, do. do.
Sparviere, brig	8 guns	98 men taken
Hannibal, cutter	10 guns	80 men, escaped
Eight gun boats	1 twenty-four pounder each	40 men each, escaped.

Total, 96 guns, and 1108 men.

"J. B."

In addition to these, it was afterwards known that Murat had in the morning embarked four hundred

Swiss troops in the different vessels, in order to make sure of carrying the Spartan by boarding. They were dressed in red like English marines, and extended the whole length of the vessels in which they were embarked, with their muskets; a dreadful carnage must have been made amongst them.

Captain Brenton was wounded whilst standing on the capstan, the only place from whence he could see his numerous opponents. It was by a grape shot striking him on the left hip bone. As he did not at first feel the blow to be very severe, he concluded it to have been given by some of the ropes, which were falling in great numbers from aloft, as cut away by the shot. He jumped from the capstan, and came down on his right leg, but the left could not support him, and he fell; and then blood was seen to issue from his back. He instantly thought of Lord Nelson's wound in the spine, and concluded from the little pain experienced, that his must have been the same. He was carried below, and on cutting out the shot, the surgeon discovered that the wound was not mortal.

When the action was over, the brig that had been captured was taken in tow, and proved to be Murat's royal yacht, sent out for the purpose of strengthening the squadron. On the sea breeze setting in, Mr. Willes, the first Lieutenant, who had also been wounded, paraded the prize before the mole of Naples, and then made sail out of the bay. On the following morning the Success and Espoir joined, and their surgeons were found most welcome assistants to the surgeon of the Spartan, who had none of his own.

His conduct indeed was most meritorious, and for the first week he was continually, night and day, passing from the sick bay to the Captain's cabin, hardly known to take either rest or food.

The Spartan proceeded to Palermo, on her way to Malta; and the prize under Lieutenant Baumgardt was sent to Messina, in order to take Captain Hoste to head quarters, and from thence to proceed to Malta.

On the arrival of the Spartan at Palermo, an extraordinary order had been given that all vessels, from whatever place, should be put under quarantine, until liberated by order of the prime minister. This was the first instance since the Spartan had been upon the station. No sooner was the Admiral informed of the circumstance, than he sent off an express to the court, then at some distance in the country.

In the mean time Lord Amherst, the British Ambassador, embarked with the Admiral in his barge, and came off to the Spartan; and as they were prevented by the quarantine laws from coming on board, they both mounted the stern ladders as high as the cabin windows, where Captain Brenton having ordered his cot to be hung near them, had an opportunity of conversing with his kind friends. Such an instance as an Ambassador and an Admiral suspended on two rope ladders, hanging over the stern of a ship, was probably never seen before, nor is it likely to recur. It is only mentioned here, to shew their kind solicitude to afford comfort to their suffering countrymen, for this was their object; and as soon as they knew what means were the most likely to supply this, they returned on

shore, and boats were sent off, not only with fresh meat, fruit, and vegetables, but with every delicacy from the Ambassador's splendid table, for the use of the wounded. No pratique having been obtained that evening, Captain Brenton directed the first Lieutenant to weigh before day-light the following morning, and on the 10th they reached Malta, and were received in the most enthusiastic manner by all classes of persons, who seemed to vie with each other in testifying every possible act of kindness.

Captain Brenton was immediately taken on shore, to the house of his kind friend, Dr. Allen, the surgeon of the naval hospital, from whom, and his amiable family, he received the most unweared attention. But as the situation of Dr. Allen's house had not the advantage of air and space which the Admiralty house possessed, the Commander in chief of the forces, Sir Hildebrand Oakes, in whose charge the house then was, requested Captain Brenton might be carried thither, and here he remained whilst his ship was refitting, with every possible advantage that the island or climate could offer. The wounded of the ship having of course been sent to the naval hospital; Mr. Williamson, the surgeon of the Spartan, most kindly and most affectionately devoted himself to his Captain, whom he seldom quitted but to procure accounts from his wounded shipmates, or to obtain for him some luxury which he thought might be acceptable. Of these there was no want, for the General, and indeed almost all the principal families were continually send-

ing whatever they thought might afford nutriment in the feeble state of the patient.

Soon after his arrival at Malta, Captain Brenton received the following letter from his excellent friend the Rear Admiral.

"CANOPUS, PALERMO, 10th MAY, 1810.

"SIR,

"I have great pleasure in sending to you the order of St. Ferdinand and of Merit, which I have this day received from His Majesty the King of the two Sicilies for that purpose, together with a copy of the letter that accompanied it.

"You are already, Sir, so fully acquainted with my sentiments, both public and private as far as relate to you, that I have only to say, that I hope you will soon be in a situation to serve your country with the same zeal, gallantry and judgment, which have marked your conduct.

"I have, &c.

"GEORGE MARTIN,

"REAR ADMIRAL."

"CAPTAIN BRENTON,

"H.M.S. SPARTAN."

Copy of a letter from Marquis Circello, inclosed in the above to Admiral Martin.

"PALERMO, 10th MAI, 1810.

"MONSIEUR L'AMIRAL,

"Le Roi mon auguste maitre vous a exprimé de vive voix, ses sensible regrets sur la situation du brave Capitaine Brenton, qui dans une des actions les plus glorieuses á la marine de la Grande Bretagne a eté si dangereusement blesse. Mais sa Majesté toujours occupé de ce brave homme m'ordonne de vous parler encore, et de vous dire combien elle est affecteé de la circonstance, et d'attribuer a' une ordre generale existante et à l'

absence de sa Majesté de Palermo, qui a retardé l'ordre d'admettre sans delai á la pratique la fregate le Spartan. Que sa Majeste aime a se flatter, que le Capitaine Brenton guerira de sa blessure; qu'un tel heros serâ conservé a' la marine anglaise, et a' la bonne cause; et que sa Majesté aura la satisfaction de le voir decoré de la croix de Commandeur de son Ordre de Merite, que J'ai l'honneur de vous envoycr jointe a cette lettre, avec prieré de la faire passer a ce brave Capitaine avec la plus grande promptitude; vu qu'il tarde a sa Majesté qu'il recoive ce temoignage des sentimens, que lui inspire son incomparable conduite; et que le publique y voit l'empressement de sa Majesté a reconnoitre le merite des brave officiers de son auguste et fidele allié, qui exposent si courageusement leurs vies pour les interets communs, autant que pour ceux que sont personnels à sa Majesté.

"Le Roi ne doute pas, qu'en envoyant l'ordre au Capitaine Brenton, vous lui donnerez connaissance de cette lettre. Ainsi il ne me reste Mons. L'Amiral, que de vous reiterer l'assurance de la haute consideration avec laquelle J'ai l'honneur d'etre.

"MONS. L'AMIRAL, &c. &c. &c.
"MARQUIS DE CIRCELLO."

"A SON EXCELLENCE
"L'AMIRAL MARTIN."

The Rear Admiral had, indeed, as he observes in his letter, most fully expressed his sentiments, public and private, as far as related to Captain Brenton, in his interview with him at the cabin windows of the Spartan, and they were of the most flattering, the most gratifying, and the most affectionate description. He said upon that occasion, "My dear Brenton, this is a bad climate for wounds, I am anxious you should be at home. If you wish it, I will take the responsibility upon myself, and order the Spartan to England. I am sure the Commander in chief will approve of my doing

so. A frigate will be required to take Mr. Arbuthnot, our minister, from Constantinople to England, and I will appoint the Spartan for that purpose. He may be expected at Malta every day." This Captain Brenton joyfully accepted, as he felt that a long time must elapse before he could again be fit for active service; and his only wish now was to be restored as soon as possible to his family, where he knew happiness awaited him, if any where in this world.

His friend, for well he might call him so, Lord Collingwood, was now no more, having sunk under the disease, against which he had long struggled. For the last year of his life his feeling and his regard for Captain Brenton had become very warm, as may be seen by his official letters; and he undoubtedly left a strong recommendation of him to his successor, as one of the first acts of Sir Charles Cotton was to appoint Captain Brenton to the command of the squadron in the Adriatic, a situation which had long been the object of his wishes. It now however came when he could no longer avail himself of it. It reached him the day after he was wounded.

The last letter he received from Lord Collingwood was one so peculiarly his own, and so comprehensive in a short space, that it may not be amiss to insert it.

"VILLE DE PARIS, JANUARY 30th, 1810.

"SIR,

"I have received your letter of November, and am very much obliged to you for the statistical account of Cephalonia, and other returns shewing the strength and ability of that Island, and the plans of the excellent ports in it.

"The population of the country is not great, but by the adoption of wise measures it may rapidly increase. The republican spirits in Corfu may seek a refuge there from the oppression they suffer under the French. One, and perhaps the first object of the government ought to be, to increase the means of subsistence of the inhabitants, and attend to foreign commerce no further, than, as it is necessary to take off those articles which are exceeding the consumption of the Island; but I fear that foreign commerce will be too attractive not to engage them more deeply in it, than its profits will maintain protection for; and although it may enrich individuals, it will confine wealth to a few, and will prevent the increase of population; so that upon this principle I would not encourage them in the beginning of their independence to send many ships to sea, but rather to cultivate the land, and to prepare at home a commerce for foreigners who will come to them.

"The woods may become of considerable importance. They were represented to me two years since to contain much fine timber, both fir and oak, which the French cut down, and shipped at an anchorage on the S.E. point of the island.

"I have ordered that convoys shall occasionally be sent for the protection of the trade from Argostoli, but it cannot be done at regular stated periods, as General Oswald requests; nor is the trade of that extent that would make it necessary.

"I have received from Malta the copy of a letter, which you wrote to Sir Alexander Ball from Cerigo, in which is related the circumstance of the former Governor of that place, having removed his apprehensions of some people who passed over from the continent, by poisoning the waters where they inhabited, and by that means putting many of them to death. In that letter there are extracts from two of the Frenchman's letters, but his name is not mentioned. I would be glad if you would furnish me with copies of these two letters, with the address they bore, (viz.) that which informs his chief of the Albanians coming to the island, and that which relates to the means by which he got rid of them.

"If any of his letters give any account of Crete, the port, or

fortification, I would beg the favour of you to inform me what he says of them. In one of his letters he says, he has been over to Candia, and that he has not been idle. A Frenchman seldom is, where any mischief is to be done.

"As to the Cephalonians navigating under the British flag, it cannot be done, but by an authority from His Majesty; but I have written to the Consuls of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, to inform them, that these islands being under the protection of England, it is expected their flag will be respected.

"It would be very convenient for the convoys to assemble there, but I apprehend that the vessels to come from Patrass, would require a convoy to the place of assembling, and Cephalonia being neutral, there must always be a certain force for their protection while assembling, so that two convoys would always be requisite instead of one.

"I am, &c.

"COLLINGWOOD."

"To CAPTAIN BRENTON,
"H.M.S. SPARTAN."

Further accounts of the 3rd May from Captain Brenton's notes to his children.

"In the beginning of the year 1810, I was sent to resume my station on the coast of Italy. Naples was now made the principal point of my observation, in consequence of the enemy having increased their little squadron, by the addition of numerous gun boats, and threatening Sicily with invasion by crossing the straits of Messina. As it was of the utmost importance to keep this squadron blockaded up in Naples, I was ordered on this service, and on the 3rd of May, the action took place in which I was wounded; the details of which you will find in their place in my letter book.

There are some however that I could only communicate to those as nearly interested in them, as you are my dear children; and even to you, perhaps, I should not have mentioned them, but to shew you the efficacy and comfort of a humble trust in God. I know you will be deeply interested in everything I write, and as this book is only intended for your perusal, I shall not risk censure for egotism. In going down to the enemy I put up a short but fervent prayer to the Almighty, that he would receive your beloved mother and yourselves under his holy protection, and bless you, and that he would enable me to do my duty to my country. At no one period of my life do I ever remember to have been more serene and tranquil; and when my excellent friend Williamson, the surgeon, as he left the deck to go to his station, said in a low voice, as I shook him by the hand, "Now sir, here is victory or Westminster Abbey for you," I experienced a feeling of animation which is not usual with me on common occasions.* As

* My brother has often conversed with us on the subject of courage, and drawn the distinction between moral and physical courage. He felt that his was not natural but acquired. His first trial was at the age of seven, when he first went to sea with his father. A supposed enemy came in sight, and the ship cleared for action. My two brothers (for they were both on board) immediately sought a secure hiding place, but their father discovering their intention, called them, and with a stern voice told them, that if they attempted to run from the enemy's guns, he would immediately shoot them. The threat was believed, though it was totally in opposition to my father's nature, and the greater and immediate danger superseded the one which had been anticipated. My brothers remained by the side of their father on deck: but the threat was never forgotten, and the dread of disgrace soon became stronger with them, than that of death. The next time I heard of my brothers having

I have in this book given you many instances in which your beloved mother derived strength and comfort under trials, by her trust and confidence in God; I wish to shew you how much in unison our feelings were, on this, as on all other subjects; and I am most anxious to impress upon your minds, my darling children, a habit of putting your cause into the hands of your Creator, in every event of your lives. He will be a tower of strength to you, and whether you fail in your worldly expectations, or that they are crowned with success, it will equally tend to your ultimate and your eternal happiness.

"With the action of the 3rd of May, Captain Brenton's service in the Mediterranean concluded. "The day after the action," he adds, "I received dispatches from Admiral Martin, containing my orders to proceed to the Adriatic, for the purpose of taking the command of the squadron there, but I was no longer in a situation to avail myself of it. On the following day we arrived at Palermo, but were put under quarantine. The Ambassador and the Admiral kindly came off to see me, but could not come on

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incurred their father's displeasure, was, during their residence in France, a very few years later, when he discovered that they had challenged some French boys, to fight with them. He, upon this occasion, thought it necessary to repress their courage, and confined them to the house for the day; when they wept bitterly, and declared themselves disgraced in not being permitted to fight the promised battle. Sir Jahleel has often told me that in going into action, he had always an anxious feeling till the first shot was fired; but from that moment he thought of nothing but the cause in which he was engaged.

F. B.

board. The Admiral was anxious to know my wishes, and instantly complied with my request, that the Spartan might be sent to England. It appeared to be the only means of giving me a chance of recovery. I was accordingly ordered to Malta to refit, and to take home Mr. Adair, the British minister, from Constantinople. We had a most favourable passage to Malta, to the great comfort and advantage of the wounded. Should it ever be in your power, my dear children, to shew kindness to the family of my excellent friend, Dr. Allen, do not neglect to do it. To his kindness and hospitality I am greatly indebted, under Providence, for my life. I was for some time so extremely exhausted in consequence of my wound, that my recovery was almost despaired of. I seldom felt any great apprehensions myself, with the exception of one day, when from extreme pain and languor, I had reason to suppose my end approaching. I remember with humble gratitude the tranquil and resigned feeling I experienced, and the comfort I enjoyed from a recollection of the indescribable affection which had united your beloved mother and myself. The dangerous symptoms however soon abated. I was carried to my ship, and sailed on the 10th June with a convoy for England."

CHAPTER XIV.

JOINED BY HIS FAMILY. — SLOW RECOVERY FROM HIS WOUND. — FRESH TRIALS FROM THE FAILURE OF HIS AGENTS, AND ACTIONS THREATENED BY NEUTRALS DETAINED. — FRIENDLY INTERFERENCE OF MR. ABBOTT. — APPLIES TO THE ADMIRALTY FOR EMPLOYMENT, AND APPOINTED TO THE STIRLING CASTLE. 1812. — COMPELLED BY THE STATE OF HIS WOUND TO RESIGN THE COMMAND. — MADE BARONET. — APPOINTED NAVAL COMMISSIONER AT MINORCA. — RESIDENCE THERE. — FAILURE OF LADY BRENTON'S HEALTH. — THE ESTABLISHMENT AT MINORCA BROKEN UP ON THE CONCLUSION OF THE WAR. — RETURN TO ENGLAND, AND APPOINTMENT TO THE DORSET YACHT. — MADE NAVAL COMMISSIONER AT THE CAPE.

"THE manner in which the intelligence of my being wounded reached your beloved mother was peculiarly trying to her affectionate heart. That excellent and amiable character, the Earl of Dartmouth, then Lord Lewisham, was at Malta when I was landed there. He paid me frequent visits; and particularly on the eve of his departure for England, that he might carry the latest intelligence respecting me. Upon his arrival, he hastened to Bath, that he might be himself the bearer of what he considered the most favourable accounts. He accordingly called upon your dear mother, and concluding that she must long have been in possession of the news of the action, proceeded to

tell her that my wound was doing well. This was the first intimation she had received of the event, and it was too much for her agitated feelings. She fainted, and Lord Lewisham was in the greatest distress, at having been the innocent cause of her suffering. Her peculiar strength of mind however soon enabled her to depend upon that power for support which had never deserted her. Lord Lewisham knowing I had written by the same ship in which he had been a passenger, flew to the post office, and did not quit it, till the expected letter was put into his hands, and ran with the utmost eagerness to deliver it. I had taken the precaution of sending home a minute surgical description of the wound, which being shewn to a medical friend at Bath, he pronounced to my dear suffering companion that the wound was not a dangerous one. This tranquillized her, and enabled her to look forward with hope to the period of our meeting. At the latter end of the month my letter from Gibraltar arrived with further encouraging accounts. Your mother with her three darlings flew to Portsmouth, and extraordinary as it may appear, almost at the same moment that she alighted at the inn, I anchored at the Motherbank. As she travelled from Southampton to Portsmouth, the Spartan was running through the Needles, and must have been an attractive object to the dear travellers, who little thought we were so near each other. It is customary for ships from the Mediterranean to be kept in quarantine till the return of the post, which communicates their arrival; but the Lords of the Admiralty in kind consideration of my state, ordered the ship to be

released by telegraph, and I landed the following morning, experiencing in the meeting with all I held dearest to me in the world, sensations of delight which amply repaid me for all the sufferings and fatigue, both of body and mind, to which I had been exposed since my separation from them. It is scarcely possible for me to look back upon this period, which was one of pure, and almost unmixed felicity. Of pain I was no longer sensible, acute as it had been during the passage. My sufferings had indeed been so great till this period, that the latter hours of the day were passed in looking at the movements of my watch, impatiently waiting for the appointed hour, when I was to receive my accustomed dose of laudanum, from which I could expect a temporary suspension of pain. Now I no longer required laudanum; my spirits were composed and happy, and although incapable of moving, I was insensible of confinement. Fearful of agitating me too much in my weak state, your mother had come into my room alone, but she was soon followed by my sweet cherubs, full of health and joy. We had the comfort of procuring the same house at Alverstoke, near Haslar hospital, where we had formerly lived; and happy as those early days of our marriage had been, they were not so much so, as the time which we now passed there; although I was so weak as to be confined to my bed, or my chair, walking a few steps occasionally with my crutches. Whenever I look back upon the past events of my life, this period always starts forward as pre-eminent in happiness. My mind was entirely free from care; all was peace, and I hope gratitude. I had

received the most flattering testimonies of the approbation of the Admiralty, particularly in that most delightful instance of it, the appointment of my brother to succeed me in the command of the Spartan. The joy and affection which beamed from the eyes of my beloved Isabella, during her unremitting attendance upon me, would in itself have been a source of the most perfect happiness. She felt, as she has since informed me, the deepest anxiety from my dangerous situation, but she never allowed me to perceive it. To her tenderness and care, under the blessing of Providence, I owe my recovery. Her society had before changed captivity into happiness; she now dispelled all the weariness attendant upon languor and confinement."*

* Of the accuracy of this little sketch, I can bear witness, for it was my privilege to accompany my husband to Portsmouth, that we might share either in the joys or sorrows of my poor anxious sister. On our way from London my husband met a brother officer, who told him that rumours prevailed at Portsmouth of my brother's death; he concealed this information from me, and of course suffered doubly himself in consequence. It was however his happy privilege in the course of a few hours, to be the first to welcome our wounded brother on his anchoring at the Mother-bank, and to give him the joyful intelligence that his wife and children had arrived at Portsmouth, and only waited his permission to come off, and share in his quarantine. My brother would not allow my husband to come on board, as we should have been deprived of his protection and society till the period of the quarantine had expired. The kind consideration of the First Lord of the Admiralty, however, shortened the period, and rendered it unnecessary for Mrs. Brenton to go on board. We had only time to secure a lodging for our dear invalid, (as near to Haslar hospital as possible, that he might have the full benefit of the medical attendance there) before he was brought on shore. I shall never forget his emaciated appearance as they brought him from the landing place, in an arm chair rigged upon poles by the sailors, who brought him

Captain Brenton remained with his family at Alverstoke till the beginning of October, when having gained sufficient strength to be moved, he proceeded to London, which he reached in two days. He received from the Admiralty an assurance of His Majesty's approbation of his conduct, and a promise that in due time his name should be added to the list of Baronets; in the mean time a pension was granted him of £300 per annum, his wound being considered by the members of the college of physicians equivalent to the loss of a limb. This proved a very welcome addition to his income, and he considered it a most providential circumstance; for he had been but a few months in England, when he was informed by his agents that they had failed, with all the prize money belonging to the Spartan in their hands. This circumstance was the more unexpected, and the more inexcusable, as Captain Brenton had given them positive orders, when the proceeds of neutral vessels were remitted to them from abroad, to cause the money to be immediately funded, in order to await the result of any appeal that might be made, but this was not done. As

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most carefully; he was himself enveloped in flags, and followed by a crowd of spectators. His sick room seemed to be what he has described, an abode of perfect happiness. His patience and cheerfulness never failed him, and his gratitude to all those who had the privilege of approaching him, and assisting in any way towards his comfort or amusement was unbounded. Very soon after his return to us, he was able to use his pencil, and retraced the events of the 3rd of May. Paintings and engravings have been taken from these sketches, which are now in my possession.

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misfortunes are said seldom to come alone, so it was on this occasion. The Spartan had taken two American ships in 1807, bound from Sicily to Copenhagen, laden with sulphur; but captured, actually running into Marseilles; and one of the Captains confessed that the destination in the papers was a false one. Captain Brenton under these circumstances, and from a conviction that the sulphur was intended to make gunpowder for the fleet at Toulon, did not hesitate to send them for adjudication to Malta; where they were condemned as the most flagrant breaches of neutrality that had ever come before that court. The proceeds were accordingly remitted, with the positive injunction before mentioned; but being retained by the agents, were involved in their bankruptcy, and by the same post, which informed him of the failure of his agents, Captain Brenton received information, that the appeal for these ships having at length come on, the sentence was reversed, and that he was called upon to pay the amount, a sum of £3000. This was indeed a heavy blow, and one for which he was not prepared either in mind or purse. He says, "the failure of my agents was the more unexpected, as upon my arrival in England, the agents had immediately written to say, that they had a considerable sum of prize money in their hands; and actually did pay a share a short time before their failure, which took place in the spring of the year 1811. With respect to the result of the appeal, this was a matter of still greater astonishment to me, considering the nature of the cases, the acknowledgment of the American masters, and the opinion

given by the judge who tried the vessels at Malta. But the Admiralty Court is a political one, and is often governed by expediency, as well as maritime law and usages."

Government was at this time very anxious to ward off a war with America, and in order to conciliate that jealous power as far as possible, many of the sentences of condemnation, even in the strongest cases were set aside, and the vessels returned, to the great injury of the captors; who were as much bound by duty to capture these vessels, as they were to take those of the enemy. It may well be supposed that this severe blow did not tend to accelerate Captain Brenton's recovery. He was at once obliged to give up his comfortable house at Bath; to sell off his furniture, and to remove to the vicinity of London; not only for the purposes of economy, but to attend to the intricate and perplexing business arising from the bankruptcy. The following are his remarks upon this period, in his notes to his children.

"This was one of those events which are peculiarly trying, but are often most salutary in awakening us from a state of dangerous security and worldly mindedness; and which also shew in its true light the value of attachments founded upon virtue, and the inestimable blessing of a mutual, cordial, and sincere affection, enabling us to support the pressure of misfortune. By the failure of my agents, the whole of the little property I had collected during the war, was swept away; and I was, in addition, called upon to refund £3000 for the American sulphur vessels. I now con-

sider these two seeming misfortunes coming together, a most providential circumstance; as it enabled me to meet all my difficulties at once, and with the blessing of God to subdue them. The distress in which we were involved was great, but a kind Providence supported us under it. Could you have been sensible of the conduct of your beloved mother upon this occasion, you would have pronounced her an angel indeed. She suffered it is true, but not on her own account, or from any undue anxiety on yours; for she depended upon a bountiful Creator supplying all your wants, as he had ever done. Her affliction was on my account. She knew how deeply I felt the loss of all I had to depend upon for the support of my darling family, particularly at a period when I was precluded from active exertion, by the effects of my wound; and the almost hopeless prospect of my being able to procure so large a sum as that which was demanded of me. But here my dear children let us pause, and view with gratitude, with fervent and sincere gratitude, the dispensations of a benign Providence in our favour. A few weeks before the event, His Majesty had been pleased to bestow upon me a pension of £300 per annum, in consequence of my wound; this, with my pay, now became our support; and a most kind friend (Mr. Henry Abbott) generously stepped forward, and supplied the sum necessary to pay off the claims of the neutrals; taking his chance of remuneration from the produce of the bankrupts' estates. I hope through life you will preserve a grateful recollection of this friendship. Even here (in a small lodging at Paddington) we passed a cheerful and

tranquil season. It was the piety, and resignation, and sweetness, that beamed from your dear mother's expressive features, which, under the blessing of heaven, shed this felicity over our little society; and rendered this period of trial one of those, that in the retrospect of my life presents itself also as a period of peculiar happiness.

"In the course of the year my wound began to make a visible progress towards recovery, under the kind and skilful care of Mr. Cline. During the period of our stay at Paddington, we had indeed much to be grateful for. My mother's health which had been very precarious, appeared entirely re-established, and she evidently derived much happiness from our being so near her. Your uncle Edward arrived at Portsmouth in June in the Spartan, and I could not resist the inclination to visit my old shipmates. I was accompanied of course by your mother; our reception was not only gratifying but affecting; to the expressions of attachment from the officers and ship's company, was added the affectionate kindness of your dear uncle. He caused the colours to be hoisted under which we had fought on the 3rd May, and by every possible arrangement studied to gratify my feelings. This little narrative is intended for you alone my dear children, and you can appreciate my reasons for writing it. Your dear uncle requires no additional claim to your affection, but I know this trait of his character will delight you."

Soon after this visit to Portsmouth, Jervis, the eldest son, was attacked by scarlet fever; his recovery oc-

casioned the following reflections recorded by his father. "A kind and merciful Providence soon restored your dear brother to health. These trials which so frequently occur in the course of even the most prosperous life, ought to teach us to repose more upon God, and to indulge less in anxiety, which generally results from a forgetfulness of His divine providence. How often does it happen that when bereft of hope, and abandoned to despair, a sudden change has dispelled the gloom, and restored us to happiness; whilst at others, when we have been indulging in the most flattering prospects, when every thing seemed to smile around us, when to-morrow promised to be in joy, 'as this day, and more abundant;' a blow from an unexpected quarter comes, and lays us prostrate. These circumstances and experiences should teach us temperance in the enjoyment of the blessings of this world, and in the measure of our attachment to them; should teach us to form no long view of such short lived felicity; to receive with gratitude that share which is so abundantly bestowed upon us; and when we are threatened with the loss of what we consider so essential to our happiness, to consider that we are in the hands of Him who has our eternal interests in view, and who knows what is good for us, better than we do ourselves. This is true philosophy, but what is still more, this is true religion."

It has been the wish of the Editor to allow the narrative to proceed with as little interruption as possible from himself, and chiefly in the words supplied by the subject of the memoir himself. The language made

use of being sometimes that of a report of his own actions, and sometimes a comment upon them addressed to his children, sometimes drawn up in the third person, sometimes in the first, has involved a variety of manner which may probably have given offence to readers; but which it still seemed desirable to retain, as conveying the words and expressions of the individual mind, which it is the object of the memoir to present to public observation. Unwilling to do more than was absolutely necessary, and being chiefly anxious that the portrait exhibited might be as true to life as possible, he has risked the consequences of substituting a broken and disjointed narrative, for one more continuous and regular, that he might allow his readers to see for themselves and to judge for themselves, a character which is calculated to be beneficial to all. Instead of assuming the office of biographer, he has wished that the subject of the memoir should be made to tell his own story; and he has chiefly limited his own endeavours to pointing out traits of character brought to light by the circumstances in which the man was placed, and which it was desirable that his readers should notice. From time to time he has ventured to do this, and in gratifying his own feelings by thus dwelling on the features of a friend whom he never recollects without admiration, he hopes that he may have been useful in directing the attention of others to qualities which might have escaped observation, from the simplicity of mind with which the trials that draw them forth are related. On this account he must trespass for a moment on the patience of his readers,

and call their attention to the peculiar trial which awaited Sir Jahleel Brenton at this period of his career.

His character as an officer was now completely established. The prejudice entertained against him by Lord Collingwood had been overcome, and converted into confidence and regard. His services in the Mediterranean had secured the admiration of the navy; and the brilliant valour and good conduct exhibited in the action off Naples, had placed him on a pinnacle of glory, which few perhaps can at present appreciate, who do not remember the enthusiastic spirit of that period of the war, and the excitement which pervaded every rank of society on the subject of naval successes.

At that period, and under those circumstances; with the consciousness of having served his country with a fidelity and earnestness beyond what is due to any human tie; with the shouts and triumphs of a Mediterranean population still ringing in his ears, and with a spirit raised above the excruciating torture of his wound by a sense of the glory he had won; this intoxicating dream is dissipated by the intelligence of pecuniary losses, which threaten destitution to his family, and by the notice of a prosecution on the part of the neutrals, whom he had felt it his duty to detain; which might have consigned him to a debtor's prison for the rest of his days.

Life, if considered as a state of discipline, must be a state of trial. Character is to be developed by circumstances; and God is to be glorified by the evidence thus given by his servants of their adoption and renewal. Under this conviction we acquiesce in the

assertion that, "whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth;" and can see the purpose for which the affliction is sent in the character which is gradually evolved; but the fulness of this assurance does not invalidate the severity of the trial, and we must feel for man while he is in the crucible, though we may be confident as to the effect that it will finally produce.

I feel it, therefore, due to the character of Sir Jahleel Brenton, to dwell on this point of his story, because it includes circumstances of trial which cannot be generally appreciated, and because it involves that species of trial which has been commonly found the hardest to endure. Oppression, we are told, maketh a wise man mad. Ingratitude, man's ingratitude is continually named as the bitterness of life. The great men of heathen times are found quitting their country in the decline of life, disgusted at the treatment they met with; and we cannot wonder if self-love on one side was dissatisfied with that return, which self-love expected or self-love offered on the other.

The shock which was inflicted on Sir Jahleel Brenton by this sudden change of circumstances must have been most severe. To have a triumph succeeded by poverty; the glory of successful command by the prospect of a jail; and to feel that his country's courts crushed him, for having done what his country's interests required, and his country's voice had commanded; and that thus having risked life and incurred sufferings in its service, he was now to be made a victim of political expediency, and to be sacrificed to the jealousy of a hostile state; this was, to say the

least a sharp trial for man to bear, and a trial which few have borne with so much calmness. In truth if heroism is to be tested by what a man bears rather than by what a man does, and a very brief consideration may lead us to adopt this view, we may venture to say that Sir Jahleel Brenton may be contemplated with more admiration while reconciling himself to poverty and sufferings, in the testimony of a good conscience and in submission to the will of God; than while directing the movements of his frigate through the fleet which enveloped him, while Murat and his court were watching the defeat of their little armada by the energies of his single ship.

Let the reader of these pages then dwell most on that which most deserves consideration. He may learn from the narrative, what vicissitudes of trial life may include; and he may distrust the exultation inseparable from moments of success by calling to mind its uncertain tenure, and the reverse that may be immediately at hand. But above all let him remember, that he who labours for man, must be prepared to meet with ingratitude, or at least neglect; and that from the very nature of society, the sacrifices that are made for the public good can seldom be properly appreciated, or justly recompensed by the public, for whom they are performed. A higher principle must be infused into the heart of him who wishes to serve his country, than was found among the heroes of antiquity; or self-devotion and patriotism will be doomed to experience the same melancholy disappointment that they did in their cases. God must be honoured; his favour, his blessing

must be the objects of pursuit; if man wishes to be certain of obtaining a just recompense of reward; and sad and bitter will be the result of dangers braved and labours borne, if the favour of a fickle world has been the object of ambition, and the only return looked for has been that which men can give.

"A haughty spirit," it is said, "goeth before a fall." Had such been the spirit of Sir Jahleel Brenton, it is easy to imagine how it would have been inflated and increased by the admiration and excitement occasioned by his victory; and it is as easy to conceive, that on a mind in such a state, the sudden shock of adversity would have come with an overwhelming force. Happily for him, he had long before learned in a better school than that of the world, the nature of the things by which he was surrounded. He knew what he was justified in seeking, but he also knew the limits under which it was to be sought. Thankful for what God had been pleased to give, he was ready to resign what God was pleased to recall; and while the hand of God was seen in everything, he saw no injustice in the treatment he was exposed to, no public ingratitude in the circumstances which marred his prospects; but only behold another trial in a change of condition; and blessed God for the consolations with which that trial was to be accompanied.

The narrative may be resumed from Sir Jahleel's own notes. He says, "my wound now continued to make a gradual progress, and at the end of the year (1811) Mr. Clive considered all exfoliation at an end. I had now put aside my crutches, and could walk with

tolerable facility with two sticks. I therefore began to look forward once more to active service. Your dear mother used all the arguments which tenderness and affection could suggest to dissuade me from it; but the same feeling towards her, and my beloved children, stimulated me to exertion, and would have deprived me of my own approbation and peace of mind, had I remained in a state of inactivity longer than was absolutely necessary. I accordingly applied for a ship. Mr. Yorke, then first Lord of the Admiralty, in the most friendly and earnest terms, requested me not to run the risk of a relapse, by going again to sea; having however persisted in my application, he appointed me to the Stirling Castle, a new ship of seventy-four guns, then at Chatham, intended at my own request to be sent to the Mediterranean. In the middle of March 1812, I took command of this ship, and removed with my family to Brompton, near Chatham, and here another period of happiness occurs, which will frequently present itself to my recollection, unsolicited from the association with my professional duties. My profession had ever been my delight from the very early period of my life at which I entered it, and no circumstance, however happy, had as yet possessed the power to tranquillize my mind on shore, whilst I considered myself capable of active service."

As Captain Brenton had reason to suppose that his ship would at least for some time be attached to the channel fleet, he removed his family to Plymouth, and took this opportunity of initiating his eldest son into the profession, which it was at that time supposed he

would have chosen. He says, "As our dear boy had from his infancy expressed a wish to follow my profession, and had appeared confirmed in the resolution, upon my return home in the Spartan, your mother and myself considering the advantages which might attend from his constitution being early inured to the profession, decided upon his going with me. It was rather intended at the same time, as giving him an opportunity of judging for himself, whether under all circumstances, his preference for the navy might continue, and as I was informed of the appointment of an exemplary clergyman to the ship, who had been head usher at Hertford school, and who was to superintend the education of the youngsters on board, we had less hesitation in taking your brother from the school at which he had been nearly a year, (Dr. Crombie's, at Greenwich.) Our kind friend Mr. Williamson, whom I was again happy in having with me as surgeon, kindly went for him in a tender, which I sent for the purpose.

"June 6th, we arrived in Cawsand Bay; the weather in the preceding night had become thick and squally, but we reached our port with great ease by noon."

Thursday the 11th, Mrs. Brenton mentions having passed a delightful day on board the Stirling Castle. Captain Brenton adds, "This was I believe the last visit your mother ever paid to the Stirling Castle, where from the sweetness of her disposition, and the kindness of her manner, she had gained the regard of all on board. On this occasion we were accompanied by one of my best and earliest friends. Mr. Tucker

and myself became acquainted in the year 1792, when he was purser of the Assistance, and when I commanded the Trepassey on the Newfoundland station, in the year 1799. He had, after progressive elevation, acquired through his own conduct and talents, become Secretary to the Earl of St. Vincent, with whom I had recently served as Lieutenant, and who had promoted me to the command of the Speedy. Mr. Tucker and myself then renewed our former intimacy, he had power to shew the strength of his regard, and exerted it to the utmost. I had little in my power but the expressions of gratitude, and the feelings of friendship. Whenever an opportunity offered of forwarding my interests, he never lost sight of it, and proved himself a most steady friend. It is to his active zeal we are indebted for much of the comfort our family received after the death of my father. Lord St. Vincent was under Providence the instrument of their welfare; Mr. Tucker, the kind and judicious friend, who pointed out the most effectual means of serving them. Upon all the subsequent trials and events which have befallen me, he has been invariably the same, always identifying himself with my interests, and those of all my family; and I feel delighted in having it in my power to record such instances of disinterested attachment, as an object for your future gratitude and regard. Lose no opportunity, my dearest children, in shewing your sense of his kindness to me, whenever it may be in your power, either towards himself or any of his family."*

* Mr. Tucker became, successively, Private Secretary to the Earl of

Referring to a memorandum written on the 23rd of September, 1812, Captain Brenton says, "I had sometime before this period experienced an attack of inflammation in the wound, but I had now recovered from it, and it remained in the same state as when I came to sea. As the winter approached, I felt this inconvenience of being lame more sensibly, as it increased my anxiety respecting the duty of the ship, from a conviction that I could not use the same activity I had formerly possessed; and I began to feel the conviction that some employment on shore, was better suited to the actual state of my health.

"I thought seriously of endeavouring to gain some appointment on shore. I had in the Spring been offered the Commissionership of Bombay, but declined from preference to active service. I therefore wrote to Lord Melville (then First Lord of the Admiralty,) and told him the state of my health, requesting to be remembered in the event of a vacancy happening; this he promised to do, and conceiving I wished immediately to come on shore, he appointed Captain Brine to succeed me in the Stirling Castle. Those alone whose minds are ardently devoted to the sea service, can enter into my feelings after dispatching my letter to Lord Melville. It appeared to me as soon as it was gone beyond recall, that the sacrifice was unnecessary, that the pain and inflammation of the wound

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St. Vincent, when he was First Lord of the Admiralty; Commissioner of the Navy; and Deputy Surveyor General of the Duchy of Cornwall. He died at his estate, Trematon Castle.

F. B.

had ceased, and that with a little patience I might have weathered the winter, and have had another summer before me, in which I might have recruited. I felt my attachment to the ship, and everything connected with active service increase, as I was on the point of being removed from it. These, however, were but temporary feelings; the wound soon resumed a very serious character, and I had no sooner joined my family at Plymouth on the 26th of October, than I felt I had much reason to rejoice in my decision. As soon as I was superseded by Captain Brine, I proceeded to my favourite residence at Bath. Here I had the advantage of one of the most skilful surgeons, the late Mr. Grant. I had several very severe attacks of inflammation, attended by exfoliation, which must have rendered it impossible for me to have remained afloat. I was, however, evidently regaining my health, and having my mind at ease from the conviction that I had not willingly relinquished employment afloat."

Early in November Captain Brenton received an official communication from the Admiralty, notifying his having been created a Baronet. In the year 1813, Sir Jahleel writes, "It was in this year that my darling Jervis formed that choice of a profession, to which it was ever our wish he should be devoted, but which we did not press upon him, lest we should put a restraint upon his inclinations. He had from his infancy expressed a wish for the navy, and the preference was natural, and likely to strengthen with his years. It was therefore encouraged; and I considered him so decided in his choice, that I should have taken him with me in

the Stirling Castle. Whilst instructing him in the rudiments of astronomy and navigation, I took every opportunity of associating in his mind the truths of revealed religion, with the wonders of creation. His mind was sufficiently enlarged to admit and combine them with facility, even at this early age; though he had not completed his tenth year, when we were at sea together. His memory was very retentive, our conversation frequently turned upon Religion, and the duty of its ministers; and I endeavoured to describe to him, the character and conduct requisite for the sacred office, as well as the influence each would have upon the happiness, not only of this life, but of the next. These delightful conversations (for such they were to this dear boy, as well as to myself, for he frequently began them) insensibly gave a change to his ideas, and induced him to prefer the tranquillity and retirement of a clerical life, to the more brilliant prospects which the navy might have held out to him. What a claim for the most fervent gratitude has this circumstance upon my heart at this moment, and what a source of comfort and consolation under the loss of such a child. I have now the blessed and well founded hope, that he is in the enjoyment of everlasting felicity.

"At the close of this year, Lord Melville, who had been long anxious to serve me, but unable from the want of a vacancy, at last found the means by the establishment of a resident Commissioner at Minorca. He made me the offer of the appointment. I accepted it with alacrity, and prepared for our immediate departure. I was at the time of receiving it, confined to my

bed, by the opening of my wound; but was soon in a situation to travel, and by the unremitted care and energy of my affectionate companion, every fatigue and exertion was spared me. We left our delightful abode at Bath on the 10th January, and embarked on board the Blenheim for Minorca on the 20th. We had been exposed during the greater part of our voyage, till we reached Cape St. Vincent, to a continual gale from the S.W., but at this period the weather was remarkably fine, and you may easily imagine the interest with which your mother viewed the theatre of the great action, fought by our noble friend, and the first in which I had been engaged.

"As we proceeded, every point we passed excited some recollection of strong interest, but particularly Gibraltar Bay. These feelings I hope were not unaccompanied, by sincere and ardent gratitude to the Almighty, for the merciful preservation which I had so often experienced. On the 3rd of February we passed along the coasts of Andalusia and Grenada, mountains covered with snow, with the town of Malaga below them. Our voyage was at this period delightful, and had all the appearance of being a very short one. We were most happily situated with the best and kindest friend in the Captain of the ship, Captain Samuel Warren, with every attention and accommodation we could possibly desire, but a voyage to passengers must ever be tedious. The wind now changed and blew constantly from the eastward, making our passage longer between Ivica and Minorca, than from England to Ivica. On the 19th, Majorca was in view, the

weather extremely cold, and the hills covered with snow. Nothing could be more wretched than the sight which Cabrera offered to us through our glasses: we could see hundreds of naked and starving French prisoners, crawling about the rocks, without any other habitation, than the caverns they found amongst them, and we heard they were almost without food. When however, the wanton atrocities committed by the French in Spain are taken into consideration, we cannot wonder at the conduct of the Spaniards in this instance, however inexcuseable it may seem. We reached Port Mahon on the 25th of February, and had some difficulty in procuring lodgings. Many wretched habitations were offered to us, but we were soon provided with an excellent house, in a delightful situation, though it afterwards proved damp, from having been recently built. For some time my health was in an alarming state, whilst that of my beloved Isabella appeared to be perfectly restored, with the exception of a little hoarseness, which then gave us no uneasiness, as I only considered it as the continuation of a cold, caught in England; but which was disease silently working on the lungs. The climate, although very changeable, appeared to agree remarkably well with every one of the family except myself; and my own health experienced a rapid improvement with the return of the warm weather. We began to enjoy happiness, and to be reconciled to the Island, forming plans for a long residence on it. At this time we had the gratification of having the Duchess of Orleans, mother of Louis Phillippe, as our occasional guest.

She was dining with us on the day that the first report reached Minorca, that the white flag had been hoisted in France. The news was not credited at first, but I was convinced in my own mind that it was true, and therefore communicated it to my royal guest, who was quite overwhelmed with the intelligence. The following morning I had the pleasure of carrying the confirmation of this joyful intelligence to the Duchess. This excellent Lady soon resumed her place at Paris, at the head of a splendid establishment, and was unremitting in her efforts to testify her gratitude to every English person who approached her; for the hospitality she acknowledged to have received from their country. In the course of the month of May your beloved mother's cough had increased, and in June she broke a blood vessel. We were advised to try country air, and M. Mercudel, a Minorquine gentleman, had the goodness to lend us his house at Bingot, pleasantly situated on the road to Alegero. The air of this place appeared for some time to have the most salutary effect; thus the summer passed away with no other occurrence than my having been brought into intimate communication and friendship with that best of sea officers, Sir Benjamin Hallowell, afterwards Carew, who was left in command of the squadron in the Mediterranean, and who took his station at Minorca, in order to superintend the disposal of the stores, &c. The peace taking place early in Autumn, the fleet was ordered home, and consequently there no longer existed the necessity for a dockyard at Mahon. I was directed to send all the stores to England, and to return home;

Lord Melville in the mean time having most kindly appointed me to the Dorset Yacht. Your mother's health was so precarious, that it became necessary for us to accept the kind offer of my friend, Captain Bathurst,* to take home my family in the Fame, and to his care I consigned them, under the protection of that benign Providence which never forsook us. I was unable to accompany them from the remaining duties I had to perform. They embarked on the 7th of August. A few days after they had sailed, I left Minorca in the Castor, for Marseilles, and from thence proceeded to Paris. There I enjoyed the kind hospitality of the Duchess of Orleans for a few days, returning to England early in October. Your mother and yourselves had arrived a few days before me.

"Before I left Minorca I received a second letter from Lord Melville, informing me of my appointment as Commissioner at the Cape of Good Hope, the former Commissioner being just dead; an appointment which was very agreeable to me. On my return to England, I found your dear mother apparently much recovered, but the fatal cough still continued. This was the only alloy to my happiness, but still I fondly cherished the hope that it was in some measure subdued, and that the climate of the Cape of Good Hope would entirely restore her. How easily can we flatter ourselves with prospects of happiness. How earnestly do we cling to remote possibilities for comfort; and most merciful is the dispensation which affords us this relief. How

* Captain Bathurst was killed at the battle of Navarino when commanding the Genoa.

gloomy and dismal would many parts of our lives otherwise be. Our dear boys were now of an age when it became necessary that every effort should be made to give them a substantial education, and for this purpose we decided upon leaving them at Winchester, under the care and protection of their uncles. This was the greatest trial we had to experience; but what must the pang of separation have been to your mother, who although she concealed as much as possible her real state from us, must have felt the most serious apprehension, that she was no more to meet these darling children in this world. With what exemplary fortitude did she conduct herself under circumstances so agonizing! On the 1st day of January, 1815, we sailed for the Cape of Good Hope, on board H.M.S. Niger, commanded by Captain Rainier. We had much to be grateful for, to our all merciful Protector, for the comfort we enjoyed throughout this voyage, which ended by our arrival in Simon's Bay on the 12th of March. Your mother felt much weakness and indisposition in crossing the tropical latitudes, owing to the great heats, but she was nevertheless invariably cheerful, and apparently happy."

CHAPTER XV.

RESIDENCE AT THE CAPE. — REMARKS ON THE ADVANTAGES OF SIMON'S BAY AS A NAVAL STATION. — PLANS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE LIBERATED NEGROES. — RAPID FAILURE OF LADY BRENTON'S HEALTH AND HER DEATH. — REFLECTIONS ON IT EXTRACTED FROM HIS PRIVATE JOURNAL.

THREE years had elapsed after the last capture of the Cape of Good Hope, before it was considered necessary to have a resident Commissioner there. Captain Shield was selected for this purpose, and a fitter, or more efficient man could not have been found. With a sound judgment, and the utmost integrity, and undeviating correctness; he possessed an activity of mind, and indefatigable perseverance that never perhaps was exceeded. His official correspondence, which Sir Jahleel Brenton found in the office, was invaluable to him, and rendered his way clear under all the complexity in which he was involved by the transactions, which in the ultimate establishment of the dock-yard he was engaged in with the military and civil branches of the Government.

The Dutch, while masters of the Cape, aware of the insecurity of Table Bay during the winter months, when it is exposed to the fury of the whole Southern

Atlantic, had been in the habit of sending their ships for shelter to Saldahna Bay ; overlooking, or perhaps purposely concealing the value of Simon's Bay ; lest it might afford to an enemy the facility of landing and attacking the colony. Commissioner Shield viewed this bay with a seaman's eye, and at once pronounced it to be the only place on the coast for a Naval Arsenal, and gave this opinion to the Navy Board, as soon after his arrival as he could obtain the means of forming it.

The Dutch had a few storehouses there for the use of their Batavia ships, but everything was upon the smallest scale, and the Admiralty on being convinced by the representation of Commissioner Shield of the fitness of Simon's Bay for the establishment of a dock-yard, directed the Naval Establishment to be removed there, which was accordingly done in 1814 ; a Naval Hospital being previously built, and plans agreed upon for the extension of other Naval buildings.

Commissioner Shield being called to the Navy Board in 1813, was succeeded by Commissioner Dundas, from Bombay, who retained the situation but a short time, as he died at Simon's Town in August, 1814.

Sir Jahleel Brenton, on inspecting the two bays, Table Bay and Simon's Bay, entirely concurred with Commissioner Shield upon the expediency of giving up the former altogether ; but recommended, that on surrendering the buildings there to the Colonial Government it should be with the understanding, that if required at any future period of war, they should be again restored to the Naval Department.

Whilst the dock-yard was in Table Bay, no ship could venture to strip her lower masts, or heave down, from the uncertainty of the weather and the rapidity with which a gale succeeds a calm, and the glassy surface is changed into a tremendous sea rolling in upon a dead lee shore. The loss of the Sceptre there in 1795, and of several large merchant vessels in the course of the seven years which Sir Jahleel Brenton passed there, are evident proofs of the dangers incurred almost at all seasons of the year in this bay; whereas in Simon's Bay, scarcely an instance occurred during the whole of that time of a vessel driving from her anchors. Indeed the one only case was that of the Revolutionaire, parting a cable that had rotted in India, and falling on board the Zebra, carrying her adrift, with the wind immediately off one part of the bay, and driving on shore on the opposite side in a sandy cove under the block house, from whence they were both got off, the Revolutionaire much damaged from having passed over a ledge of rocks. But soon after the moorings were laid down for two ships of the line, and as many frigates, and no accidents afterwards occurred. It was found, however, that these were inconvenient, as they occupied too large a portion of the bay, which is not very extensive, and on that account they have since been removed.

When it was decided that the only Naval Establishment at the Cape should be in Simon's Bay, the new buildings were carried on with great energy, and it soon became a place of considerable importance. A jetty was formed in the dock-yard: a spacious mast

house erected, with a working sail loft over it, and a very ornamental range of houses for the officers of the yard constructed upon a terrace overlooking the bay, and the whole yard enclosed with a wall, forming a remarkably neat and compact arsenal.

Soon after the arrival of Sir Jahleel Brenton as Commissioner of the dock-yard at the Cape of Good Hope, a vessel arrived with the account of Buonaparte having escaped from Elba, and of war being revived in Europe. The consequences of this short war had a very material influence upon the colony of the Cape, as the transfer of the great prisoner to St. Helena caused a great demand upon the Cape for supplies of all descriptions, and excited amongst the wine growers and farmers a degree of energy quite foreign to the habits of the Dutch colonists, and to which nothing but English capital, and English example could probably ever have stimulated them.

St. Helena, of course, became the head quarters of the squadron, from whence they were sent in succession to Simon's Bay to refit, and complete their stores. Large contracts were entered into for wine and flour, as well as for bread, cattle, and hay, &c. The cattle hitherto killed for the Cape market were of the most inferior description. They had been driven from the great cattle farms, in the eastern districts of the colony, through a long sandy desert, where little was to be found for their support but the acrid Hottentot fig and other similar plants; and after a journey of nearly a week, sometimes much more, they were, upon their arrival either in Cape Town or Simon's Town, im-

mediately sent to the slaughter house. The meat, as may be expected, was of the worst kind; and of the cattle embarked in the wretched state we have discribed, but few could be expected to reach St. Helena.

To remedy this, a Cattle yard was constructed in Simon's Bay, where they were kept and dry fed for several weeks, and then shipped on board the transports; and the wind being almost always fair, and the water smooth, they continued to improve even on the passage, and arrived at St. Helena in high condition. Sheep were still more improved, and the quick demand for all the articles of supply, gave great animation to the boors; while it rendered the Naval Establishment at the Cape of very great importance, and shewed particularly how sound was the judgment which had induced Commissioner Shield to remove it from Table Bay to Simon's Bay, as there was scarcely an instance during the period of nearly seven years that Sir Jahleel Brenton was there, in which a cargo might not have been shipped on board the men of war, and transports. Indeed in a very heavy gale, blowing directly into the bay, an anchor for a very large frigate was sent off with very little difficulty; whilst in Table Bay all communication with the ships is cut off for many days together, and much longer in the winter months.

More than thirty vessels, some of them of great value were lost in Table Bay during this period, and only one in Simon's Bay; and this, for want of a good look out, running on shore in the night under Musenburg with all sails set.

The Revolutionaire and Zebra it is true had been driven on shore, but it was in a species of hurricane off the land, as has been already observed, and owing entirely to the Revolutionaire's cable being defective.

Upon this occasion, or rather in consequence of it, when the Revolutionaire was heaving down to be repaired, Sir Jahleel Brenton had a most providential escape from losing his life. The ship was keel out (and it is well known with what difficulty the long legged French built ships are hove down.) The Commissioner was in the boat examining the damages the ship had received, and not four feet from the keel of the Revolutionaire, when the purchase gave way, and she righted with the greatest violence, throwing the greatest part of the people who were on the decks overboard, killing one shipwright, and wounding the master builder of the yard seriously. The column of water between the ship's bottom and the Commissioner's boat was sufficient to act as a fender, and prevent her being struck by the ship ; she was thrown off with great violence by the broken water, but without shipping any. The boats crew, all black fellows, seeing the confusion with which they were surrounded, immediately jumped overboard, and dived to be out of the way of mischief, and the first that rose finding that order was not quite restored, again sought for safety at the bottom. They were soon however all in the boat again, but evidently thought their conduct too natural to require either explanation or excuse ; for they gave neither to the Commissioner, whom they had thus left

alone in the boat, and who was too much amused at their resource to be angry with them.

In the course of this year, Rear Admiral Sir George Cockburne having seen his important prisoner settled at St. Helena, was succeeded in his command by Rear Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm, who arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, which he was desirous of visiting previous to his taking up his residence at St. Helena; and having brought Lady Malcolm with him, the circumstance was the cause of much gratification to the Commissioner's family, and to Sir Jahleel Brenton particularly; as it enabled him to act in concert with the Commander in chief, in laying down plans for the regular supply of St. Helena, and in making the necessary contracts for that purpose. Sir Pulteney was also enabled to judge for himself of the capabilities of the Cape, and the character of its farmers, which rendered the subsequent correspondence between the Admiral and the Commissioner a very easy one; both were acquainted with each other's objects and measures, and the greatest cordiality in consequence subsisted between them.

With regard to some of the Commissioner's plans, it is fit that his own language should be quoted.

"One of the most important subjects that engaged my attention, after my arrival in the colony, was the situation of the negro labourers in the dock-yard. These people had been with hundreds of others of their countrymen captured by His Majesty's ships, in vessels carrying on that abominable traffic, after it had been

rendered illegal by the laws of the countries to which these vessels belonged. Some of these negroes, as many as were required, were assigned to the government departments, colonial, military, and naval, as labourers; and others were distributed among the inhabitants of the colony as servants or agricultural labourers. Those, whose unhappy fate it was to be of the latter class, were indeed much to be pitied. The tender mercies of the original Dutch Boor in this colony are but too well known, and the unfortunate black, not called a slave but an apprentice, lost all the benefit which he would have derived from being a slave, when being a marketable commodity, his health was taken care of, and like other animals belonging to the farm he was well fed, and kept in good condition that he might fetch the better price, if it seemed expedient to sell him. But the Boor having only a life interest, (for such indeed it became in many instances where the negro did not outlive his apprenticeship) tasked him to the utmost; and as he had been in the habit of acting towards the unhappy Hottentot, the more the man's health was impaired, made the greater efforts to get work out of him, before he died. That this is in no way exaggerated will be evident to those who read the statements made by Dr. Philip, in the course of his struggles in favour of the Aboriginal people of the colony.

"Those who were employed in the public departments, as well as such as fell into the hands of respectable individuals were of course much less to be pitied. Some apprenticeship, however, was necessary,

especially to the new negro, who would for some years be incapable of earning his own living.

"Commissioner Shield had in 1810, with that humanity and judgment for which he was remarkable, suggested to the Navy Board, that the negroes employed in the dock-yard should be put on the same footing as landsmen on board His Majesty's ships, having the same allowance of provision, and the same pay; the latter amounting to £14 per annum, the balance of which after the deduction made for their clothes (as in the case of seamen) should be carried to their credit, and kept until they were out of their time, as a means of future provision. After the departure of Commissioner Shield this salutary arrangement had been lost sight of, in consequence of which Sir Jahleel Brenton wrote the following letter to the Navy Board; which as it describes the useful services of these men, and led to advantageous results in their behalf, it may not be amiss to introduce.

"SIMON'S BAY, 31st MAY, 1815.

"GENTLEMEN,

"I beg leave to lay before you an account of the black men now belonging to this establishment, with a few observations respecting them.

"By your letter to Commissioner Shield, 13th September, 1810, you were pleased to approve of his suggestions of these black people being borne as landsmen, and those who had acquired the ability to work as caulkers being allowed such further encouragement as he thought proper. Accordingly the men then in the yard were so regulated; but those who arrived subsequently to that period have only been put upon the footing of boys of the third class, and continued as such till the time of my arrival here.

Upon enquiry I have found that the labour of this latter description is equally valuable and hard with that of the former, and I in consequence directed them to be put on the same footing, and submit to you the propriety of their being allowed the arrears of pay which would have been their due, had they received the benefit of your order on their first arrival.

"It was I believe the intention of Commissioner Shield to have given them that advantage, had they arrived from Plettenburg Bay, previous to his departure from this country; they were all grown men upon their first arrival.

"Several of the most intelligent of the black men have been placed under the direction of the different artificers, and some by assiduity and good conduct have acquired such a degree of skill in their craft, as to enable His Majesty's service to derive a considerable benefit from their work.

"I have thought it my duty to extend to these the indulgence granted by Commissioner Shield to the caulkers, viz. ordinary seamen's pay, which I hope you will approve of, as it will be a spur to their companions.

* * * * * *

"By their assistance the buildings (in the dock-yard, &c.) will be erected at much less expense than by any other mode of procuring labourers. They have the benefit of the school, and I am sanguine in the hope of their deriving great benefit from it.

"As I am upon the subject of the negroes, I must request your indulgence to a few remarks which a daily observation of their situation, docility and general usefulness, constantly suggests to me.

"These unfortunate people at the period of their arrival in the colony are in general from twenty to thirty years of age, many of them older, and by the present regulations of Government, they are to serve fourteen years, before they can obtain their freedom.

"The negroes seldom attain an advanced age, the generality of them are past their strength at a much earlier period than the white people, and consequently at the end of their servitude, may have no other prospect than a helpless old age before them, at

a time when they must depend upon their own labour for their support.

"I am aware that their servitude can only be shortened by the interference of His Majesty's ministers; but my object in addressing you upon the subject is, that you would be pleased to take the case into consideration, and to allow such as are really valuable to Government in different branches, to receive an allowance bearing some proportion to their earnings. I should say, half-a crown a day, including their provisions.

"I should not allow this indulgence to be extended to them without long and ample experience of its being duly earned, to be certified by the respective officers. By these means a provision might be laid up for them, and so much energy exerted as to produce the most salutary results.

"Many of the blacks have made a considerable progress in learning, but those landed from the ships are only beginning.

* * * * * *

"I have, &c.

"J. BRENTON."

"To NAVY BOARD."

As the subject of these letters may be useful in directing the public attention to the means of employing a portion of the immense population placed under the control of this country, it is hoped that no other excuse need be assigned for the introduction of one or two more letters respecting the negroes. The next letter is dated, Simon's Bay, 2nd July, 1815.

"GENTLEMEN,

"In my letter of the 31st May, I took the liberty of offering a few remarks upon the situation of the black labourers, and requested permission to extend the indulgence to the deserving as occasion might require. The experience of every day teaches me that much good may result to His Majesty's service,

as well as to these people by a constant attention to putting them forward in such branches as they may be best calculated for.

"I have already given my opinion on the encouragement which appears due to those, who have become useful as artificers. I have since found that many of them are likely to become expert seamen, from the activity and intelligence they evince in boats employed on various services, and I am anxious to encourage them, by an addition to their pay, and making them leading men. Sixpence a day will I think be ample in the present instance to four of them, and this may stimulate the others to obtain the same advantage.

"As there are two seamen allowed on the establishment of the yard, and none borne on the list, which would have been absolutely necessary but for the exertions of these black men; I propose forming a fund for their encouragement, from the amount of the seamen's wages, by which the estimate for the expense of the yard will not be exceeded. I hope to obtain your sanction to the measure.

"I have, &c.

"J. BRENTON."

"NAVY BOARD."

The Navy Board approved of all the suggestions contained in these letters, with the exception of paying the arrears to those blacks who had not received the advantage of being rated according to these orders; a measure bearing very hard upon these people, and for which no adequate reason is assigned.

Some months afterwards, when the black men from the squadron were discharged into the dock-yard, previous to its departure for England, the Commissioner on mustering them found to his great surprise, that some of these people had been long at sea, serving as part of the complement of His Majesty's ships, and doing

all the duty of seamen. That these people should after such service be consigned again to slavery, (mitigated it is true, but nevertheless, as the labour was compulsory, it was still slavery for the time it was to last) seemed a hardship not to be permitted. It was true he felt that it might be said, that in the dock-yard they had the pay and allowances of seamen. This was admitted; but it was the principle against which he felt it his duty to contend. On the mere supposition that the dock-yard establishment was complete, and that in consequence these negroes had been like other apprentices distributed among the Boors, the consequence would have been obvious and most painful, and it would have involved a flagrant act of injustice towards the helpless blacks, thus reduced without any fault of their own, from the condition of seamen, serving in His Majesty's navy, to that of prædial slaves in a colony, noted for the severity with which such slaves are treated. Sir Jahleel Brenton in consequence wrote to the Navy Board upon the subject, and the following is an extract from his letter of the 13th Feb., 1816, immediately bearing upon this subject.

"I feel it incumbent upon me to state the cases of three of these men, (viz.) Frank, Tom, and Robin, who appear to me to be entitled to their liberty, in consequence of their having been in England. They went home in H.M.S. Thais, and returned in H.M.S. Curacoa, since which period they have served either in the dockyard, or in the squadron.

"Frank has acquired some knowledge as a mason, and might be employed as such, at an inferior rate of pay, in the dock-yard. The others are only labourers, and probably would have no

objection to remain; but as I understand so many decisions have lately taken place respecting the freedom of slaves being established, by their having been either in England, or in the Colonies where slavery does not exist, that I consider it my duty to make this claim in their favour.

"I have, &c.

"J. BRENTON."

"NAVY BOARD."

The Navy Board having laid the above letter before their solicitor, transmitted to the Commissioner the opinion of this law officer, but without any comment or direction of their own, leaving the responsibility of any measure Sir Jahleel Brenton might in consequence adopt, entirely upon himself. The opinion was as follows :—

"I am humbly of opinion, that if these men have been received on board His Majesty's ships to serve as seamen in the navy, they cannot be now legally detained as slaves; but this right which, as against the crown, I think they have to their freedom from slavery, will not annul any contract or engagement, by which they may have bound themselves to serve the king or any other master, for any specific period, either in the navy, or in any other manner; and if no such engagement exist, they are entitled to their discharge, if they require it, in the same manner as any seaman in the navy, or workman in the yard may be entitled to it.

"Signed by the COMMISSIONERS OF THE NAVY."

"COMMISSIONER SIR J. BRENTON, BART. K.C.B."

In consequence of receiving this opinion, and so authenticated by the Board, Sir Jahleel Brenton immediately decided upon giving these three men their

freedom, should they wish it, and having put the question to them, they earnestly requested their liberty. They had each a considerable sum due to them, amounting to some hundreds of rix dollars to each man, which the Commissioner recommended them to leave, or at least a portion of it, in the hands of the storekeeper, from whom they might draw it as they wanted; a precaution very necessary to prevent their being robbed of it. But the temptation to get the whole into their own hands was too powerful to be resisted. Amongst other arguments used by the Commissioner to induce them to adopt this prudent precaution, he stated their ignorance of the value of the notes; all money at the Cape at this time being in paper; and holding up a fifty dollar note to one of them, asked him its value, to which the man unhesitatingly answered, "ten," and another of five being shewn, the answer was, "twenty." But even this proof failed to persuade them. They took their money and in a few days came to the Commissioner lamenting that it was all gone. This circumstance convinced the latter, that unless some precautionary measures were adopted with regard to the poor blacks, no fund that could be laid up for them would be available, and under this impression he wrote to the Navy Board again.

In order to dispose of the question relative to the black labourers, one more letter from the Commissioner upon the subject to the Navy Board may be introduced, in the confidence that the plan suggested in it, will appear at once economical and practical, and that if steadily followed up, it must have been effectual for

their provision and future comfort, and the probable result that of making these men a valuable portion of the population.

"SIMON'S BAY, 24th SEPT. 1817.

"GENTLEMEN,

"As the works of this yard are now nearly completed, I beg leave to offer a few observations which have occurred to me, upon the subject of the black labourers belonging to the establishment. Many of these people have been in His Majesty's service since 1808; and consequently have, according to the present arrangement for recaptured slaves, only five years to serve; but from the opinion given by your solicitor, transmitted in your letter of the 28th May, 1816, they are even at this time susceptible of liberation.

"It becomes a matter of serious importance to provide for these people the means of obtaining an honest livelihood, and of making them useful members of society, when they shall be no longer under control. And it appears to me that so desirable an end may be effected, without putting His Majesty's government to any expense, by the means which I take the liberty of submitting for your consideration.

"We find from experience, that the lower classes of all descriptions of men who have been long accustomed to restraint and dependence, no sooner find themselves their own masters, and in possession of a considerable sum of money, arising perhaps from a long course of industry, than they are involved in great danger, and generally become entangled in difficulties, for want of some decided line of conduct to pursue. The blacks would be particularly liable to this exposure, unless care be taken to prepare them for liberty by a superintendence of their concerns, and by introducing them to it gradually.

"There are amongst our labourers several who have become good masons, brickmakers, blacksmiths, excellent caulkers, tolerable carpenters, and expert boatmen, and who consequently, if kept in industrious habits, are well calculated to provide for themselves.

"There are belonging to the Naval department, by right of purchase, and totally independent of the Colonial Government, pieces of ground, not required for any purposes connected with the dockyard, nor likely to be required however extensive that establishment may become, from their situation; a part lying behind the Commissioner's garden, and part beyond the Naval Hospital at the south of the town.

"I should propose that a part of this ground should be laid out in small lots, say twenty feet by sixty, contiguous to each other, and appropriated to as many individuals as the Board might contemplate the discharge of. Upon each lot a small house should be built by the black artificers themselves, to whom two days in the week should be given up for that purpose. The stone and the clay are on the spot; the roofing would be the only expensive part, which being furnished out of the refuse wood in the yard, useless for any other purpose, might be paid for by the smallest annual sum by the occupant, say one rix dollar* per month.

"As soon as six of these houses are finished, as many of the most deserving men should be put into possession of them; not discharged altogether from the service, but bound to work in the yard whenever called upon; and of the expediency of this the Commissioner should be the judge. The Commissioner would make this of course dependent entirely upon their good conduct, in their new situation. When he found them persevering and industrious, he would naturally leave them in the uninterrupted exercise of their employment; those on the contrary who were disposed to be idle, he would call more frequently to the task work in the yard, and to such as proved incorrigible, he would revoke the indulgence altogether, putting the more deserving into their room.

"The days on which they were permitted to work for themselves they would of course receive neither pay nor provisions from the yard. Thus by degrees a most useful and industrious body of men may be comfortably settled beyond the reach of

* About two shillings sterling.

want, in the exercise of habits of industry, immediately under the protection as well as the control of their officers. The ground-rent of these buildings would be a retaining fee, by which their services could be called for upon any emergency, such as a fire, or ships driving on shore, and for which they might receive a stipulated sum. They would continue to receive the same religious instruction from the chaplain of the yard, and from the the schoolmaster, as when actually belonging to His Majesty's service.

I have, &c.

"J. BRENTON."

"NAVY BOARD."

The Navy Board expressed their approbation of the plan above proposed in the following letter, dated 10th January, 1818.

"SIR,

"In reply to your letter of the 24th September we acquaint you that we entirely concur with you in the propriety and importance of giving to the black labourers of your establishment, at the expiration of their apprenticeship or legal servitude, all the assistance in our power towards obtaining an honest livelihood, and at the same time keeping them within reach of the moral and religious instruction of the chaplain of the yard, and we are glad to hear the men are so well qualified in their respective trades, as to obtain work when set free.

"We have therefore no hesitation in assenting to your proposition of appropriating ground to them for erecting dwellings upon in the way you have mentioned; if upon further consideration you are fully satisfied that such an indulgence to the black people, will not afford any just ground of dissatisfaction and complaint to the European artificers; and provided an absolute power is reserved to the Commissioner for the time being, to deprive the people of their houses and grounds in case of misbehaviour, or if required for the public convenience; giving them in either case such

reasonable compensation for their labour and expenses as he may think equitable; and no man to have more than a life interest in the property; but as deaths occur, you will in giving the houses to others, make it a condition that the family of the deceased shall have some small sum paid by the new occupant.

"Signed, H. B. MARTIN
H. LEGGE
R. G. MIDDLETON."

"COMMISSIONER SIR J. BARROW."

About the year 1819 the Commissioner proceeded to carry this plan into effect, having selected four of the most meritorious blacks, and giving them in the first instance one day in the week to prepare the ground, and to collect materials for their buildings, at the same time laying out their gardens. When the houses were so far in progress for laying on the roofs, the materials were given to them from the dock-yard; which from being unfit for any important purposes, were valued at a very insignificant price; and in the course of the following year, four very respectable cottages were completed, and put into the hands of the blacks, who immediately began working for the public in their respective trades, and when there was no pressure of work in the dock-yard, and employment was offered to them by the inhabitants of Simon's Town, they were allowed to take it without any interruption. But if out of work, they were always received and paid by the dock-yard, whether absolutely required or not. They were thus secure of employment, and conducted themselves so much to the satisfaction of the Commissioner and officers of the yard, as fully to answer the

hopes which had been formed of the efficacy of the plan. Had the establishment of the dock-yard remained a few years longer, there is little doubt but that the great majority of these negroes would have been effectually provided for. There were, it is true, among these as well as in every other class of human beings, incorrigible characters, whom no system or measure could reform; and these, but these only, would have become the burden of the colony: but then, even in this case, it must be remembered that the colony or the mother country had had the benefit of their labours during their best days.

Upon the breaking up of the dock-yard establishment at the Cape of Good Hope in 1821, the greater part of the blacks were discharged, and set at liberty; but no previous arrangement being made, it is to be feared that the large sums due to them were soon dissipated, and they were ultimately obliged to place themselves in voluntary bondage—not the less galling or binding from being voluntary. For by the laws of the colony, the servant, if in debt to his master, must continue to work for him until the debt is paid; and how easy it is for the master to bring his black labourer into debt to him, and how difficult for the poor black to avoid or free himself from that debt, need not be adverted to.

The description of this plan of the Commissioner's for the benefit of the negroes, has been given at greater length, as the question of providing for the great mass of their emancipated brethren in the West Indies, is not, nor is likely to be soon settled; and some

hints for the disposal of them may here be found, which may be reduced to useful practice there. The Editor is happy to be able to add, that from very recent information, it appears that the benefits contemplated, have been in a great degree realized.

Sir Jahleel's domestic narrative continues, "As our house required considerable alteration in order to make it comfortable, General Baird kindly lent us the Government quarters near Simon's Town, which was a most valuable acquisition, as it kept your mother from the noise and confusion, which necessarily attended the fitting up and furnishing our own house." Lady Brenton's health in the course of the summer, rendered a change of air necessary, and she was removed to the house of Mr. Colyn, at Constantia, where Sir Jahleel says, "We were most kindly and hospitably received by these excellent people, who used every effort in the power of friendship and goodness of heart to afford relief to my dear suffering companion. For some time the change of air seemed to have been instrumental to her receiving great benefit. This called forth our warmest gratitude to the merciful Providence which had directed us to the means; and painful as the recollection of these disappointed hopes may be, my beloved children, the retrospect of this period must fill our hearts with thankfulness to Him who bestowed such an alleviation of suffering upon her, such a suspension of anxiety and affliction upon ourselves. When we consider the duration of life in general, and how small a portion of it is passed in happiness, or in entire freedom from solicitude, our hearts must expand

with thankfulness for the share of enjoyment which has been bestowed upon us; and the sanguine hopes which we were induced to indulge at this period, must make it appear as one of almost unmixed happiness. A habit of viewing and feeling the events of life, and referring them to their great first cause, may be considered as an additional faculty bestowed on the sincere, the patient, and faithful servants of God; to contribute to their comfort, to ensure their enjoyment of that which is good in this world; to support them under its trials, to reconcile them to the state of life to which they are called, and finally to lead them to that everlasting happiness prepared for them by the inconceivable mercy and goodness of God."

Lady Brenton's health continued in a most precarious and fluctuating state for some time, rendering frequent removals to Constantia necessary. She had a very severe relapse on the 26th of January, after which Sir Jahleel says, "the Almighty was pleased to bestow a considerable period of relief and comfort."

On the 29th of January the wind blew with greater violence than it had ever been known to do in this place, and throughout the whole shore of the bay on which it acted, there was but one space where a vessel could have been driven, without being irrevocably lost, although without much danger to lives. Upon this small space both the Revolutionaire and Zebra were driven, and by the wind shifting suddenly to the southward, which brought a heavy sea into the bay,

they were both in imminent danger for some time, but on the 31st were got off without any loss of life."

On the 4th of February Sir Jahleel says, "every day now grew more alarming, and our situation more awfully afflicting. The dreadful disorder had assumed a more fearful appearance. Our short excursion to Constantia had as usual cheered and enlivened the dear sufferer, but we did not dare to form any sanguine hopes of a residence there. Our kind and hospitable friends would most willingly have received us for any period, but anxious to save them the inconvenience, we preferred hiring a cottage, which at last we succeeded in finding at Mr. Fersfeld's. Thither we prepared to remove, but it was with heavy hearts, for we had little hopes of bringing the dear object of our affection back with us. She was as usual all piety and resignation; all cheerfulness when not immediately suffering, and a model of exemplary patience and fortitude, when in pain and sickness. You and I my dear girl can never forget this bright example. May it influence our conduct, my beloved children, and when the day comes, and come it must, when all that we cling to here, when all who are dear to us, and all to whom we are dear, are on the eve of being finally separated, at least as far as relates to this world; and may our last days be like her's. We went to our retired and comfortable residence near Wynberg on the 10th of February. The change of air at first excited a temporary feeling of improvement, but it was not of an encouraging nature. A settled and increasing debility had evidently taken

place, with loss of appetite, and cough and oppression. Still the sweet sufferer appeared to enjoy the change, and to delight in the drives which this part of the country afforded."

Lady Brenton's journal, dated 29th March says, "on Tuesday, through the mercy of Divine Providence, we were permitted to reach home in safety."

June 3rd, Sir Jahleel says, "my much respected friend, the amiable Lord Amherst, had just arrived from his unsuccessful mission to China, after his disastrous shipwreck. Your mother was at this time extremely weak and suffering, but she assured me that our evening society, at which time alone she joined us, amused her, and such appeared to be the case. Our letters which arrived at this period from England were indeed delightful. Those from my darling Jervis gave me the most sanguine hopes of his being all I could wish him to be. I felt that I could now correspond with him as a friend notwithstanding his youth; he was scarcely fourteen at the time these letters were written. These were the last his mother was capable of enjoying; how little did she then think she was so soon to meet this darling child in the realms of everlasting happiness, and how merciful was the dispensation of our heavenly Father, which prevented her last days from being agonized by the account of his unexpected departure; for with whatever resignation the purest heart may bear its own sufferings, the feelings implanted in our nature render the strongest mind accessible to the most sincere affliction, at the awful separation from those we love.

"The 5th of June, 1817. This, my beloved children, was the last day in which your mother ever took a pen in her hand, unless it were to endorse her papers, which she requested me to destroy after reading them; but that became impossible until I had transcribed them for you. I come now to that period, which awful and affecting as it was, was full of mercy, full of goodness, and full of the most salutary influence to us. May we, my dearest children, ever keep it before us, and cherish it in our hearts, for our affectionate remembrance, our admiration, and our imitation. From the day on which the last memorandum was written, until that on which Lord Amherst sailed, the 11th, the angelic sufferer, though weak and frequently in pain (indeed I fear constantly) was still cheerful, and appeared to enjoy the society with which we were surrounded, in consequence of the Ambassador being with us, who was waiting for a wind. We also felt cheered and comforted at the observations which were made by some, that her health did not appear in a worse state than when they saw her the preceding year. On the 13th she went out with me in the phaeton, but I had not gone many yards before I felt convinced that her nerves were not equal to the fatigue, that everything alarmed her, and I proposed returning, to which she gladly consented. She soon after went to her room; never again to leave it alive. On the following day I became alarmed, and sent for Dr. Barry. This extraordinary young man, at the age of fourteen, had undergone a most rigid examination before the College of Physicians, and had, by the correctness of his answers,

and the extent of his abilities, extorted from them his diploma, with which he had practised with the most extraordinary success. Had not a firm conviction taken place in my mind, that the nature of my beloved Isabella's disorder, was beyond the reach of human skill, I should have derived the most sanguine hopes from his advice; but with such an impression upon my mind, I knew that Omnipotence alone could restore her; and although I never had the presumption to hope that a miracle would be performed in my favour, yet to the last hours of her life, the faint glimmering hope of her being spared to me, never wholly abandoned me. On this day he pronounced the case to be very alarming, and declared strong measures to be necessary. Her state was soon pronounced hopeless. To me she did not appear sensible of her danger; but I have since found that she knew it, and had cheerfully resigned herself to it. She did not hesitate to converse upon it with my sister, but could not bring herself to give me the afflicting tidings. I became very anxious that she should receive the sacrament, but was fearful of exciting alarm by my mentioning my wishes. This was a state of mind which can easily be imagined, but which it is difficult to describe. This complicated anxiety dwelt very strongly upon my mind, and gave rise to a circumstance, which I shall ever consider a dispensation of Divine Providence. I was lying on the sofa in her room, and dreamed that I was receiving the sacrament with her. I awoke with a very strong impression of the dream upon my mind, but soon after fell asleep again, and the dream was renewed. I considered this as

an imperative warning, which I dared no longer slight, and seating myself by her side, I took the earliest opportunity of speaking upon religious subjects. I then mentioned my dream and consequent anxiety. She heard me, not with dismay, but with delight; assured me she had long wished for it, and expressed her earnest desire that it should be administered. She regretted the absence of Mr. Hough, the clergyman, with whom we had long been on the most friendly terms. His worthy successor she had only had an opportunity of seeing, the preference was consequently natural. Providentially Mr. Hough came down that very morning; and as far as I can now recollect he was quite unexpected. I lost no time in calling upon him to administer the sacred rite, which he immediately did, going through the Service for the Visitation of the Sick. With what calmness and resignation, and at the same time with what angelic fervour, did she make her responses to the questions which he put to her upon the state of her mind and conscience. Her eyes alone were dry upon this trying occasion; they were lifted up in humble and holy confidence to her Creator and Redeemer. Never will the remembrance of this scene be erased from my mind. She appeared as tranquil and collected as though in perfect health. Mr. Hough called upon us the two succeeding days, and upon each occasion we had in her presence a most interesting and most comforting conversation, in which the dear sufferer frequently joined; but our sentiments were so entirely in unison upon every subject, that I can now remember with a feeling not to be expressed, how her eyes glis-

tened with delight, as I suggested, from time to time, those sources of consolation to which we had ever looked, during the whole of our happy union, and which had now become our sole support in this trying hour. After the holy sacrament had thus been administered, I felt no longer any restraint upon religious subjects, and thenceforth they occupied nearly all our conversation. I read to her every day one of the chapters of St. John's Gospel, so admirably calculated to quicken faith, and to render real and sensible the hidden things of the world to come. I also frequently read over to her the 23rd, 34th, 46th, 103rd, and 107th Psalms, with all of which she was greatly delighted, but more particularly with the 23rd, verses of which she frequently repeated. On the 13th of July she had become so weak as to cease to be able to walk; previous to this she had had intervals of ease, and had even been removed into another room, for change of air and scene. She now wished to receive the sacrament again, and it was administered by Mr. Dennis. From this time a lively faith seems to have taken an entire possession of this angelic mind. The words of our blessed Lord and Saviour, 'Whosoever cometh unto me, I will in nowise cast out,' were constantly upon her lips. Thursday night previous to her departure, upon going into her room, I found her in a state of delirium; she knew no one, but repeated with a voice perfectly distinct, and with the harmony of a seraph, the Lord's Prayer, and the 23rd Psalm. She soon after recovered her recollection. A paroxysm came on which threatened instant

suffocation. As soon as she could speak, she requested Dr. Duke and Mr. Dennis might be sent for. In the course of a short time she was quite composed, and at three in the morning received the sacrament, with the same calmness and enchanting resignation she had manifested upon previous occasions. She appeared to be greatly comforted, and soon after fell into a peaceful slumber, which continued without interruption for nearly twelve hours; but previous to falling asleep, and immediately after receiving the sacrament, she said, 'Remove that light,' (a candle being placed in such a manner as to incommode her) 'I shall soon see a much brighter.' 'Do you feel that, Lady Brenton?' said Mr. Dennis. 'Yes, I do, indeed,' she rejoined, 'but I hope I am not presumptuous. I am going to sleep; I think I shall awake in a celestial light.' She dosed a little; then opening her eyes exclaimed to my sister, 'O! Mary, am I still here! The hope of meeting my Saviour face to face—I trust I am not impatient.' She then slept again in the most perfect composure. She continued in the last state of languor until Sunday night, which she passed in constant pain, with extreme difficulty of breathing, and on Monday the fatal symptoms became very apparent, in reduction of the pulse, and coldness of the extremities. At two o'clock on Tuesday morning the paroxysms became so quick and so severe as to threaten instant dissolution. We surrounded her bed, in momentary expectations of her being delivered from her sufferings. At nine she was most severely convulsed, but her countenance instantly resuming that angelic

sweetness, which it had ever worne through life, she resigned her soul (spotless through His blood) into the hands of her Redeemer!

"I have thus, my darling children, gone through the painful task of recording the last sufferings of your inestimable mother. Let us endeavour to resign ourselves to the Divine Will, under the truly awful dispensations which befell us in the course of that year. Let us remember that all our trials are sent in mercy; and I fervently and sincerely assure myself, that at some future period (perhaps the close of our lives) we shall look back to these afflicting scenes, with heartfelt gratitude and adoration, for having lifted our hearts above the things of this world, and for having furnished us with so bright an example in the object of our fondest affection, to stimulate us in the practice of piety, gratitude, and peaceful resignation; for all which she was so truly eminent. Let it be the study of our lives to contemplate her virtues, whilst we most affectionately cherish her memory. It will evermore prevent our looking with idolatrous fondness on the things of this world, and keep our hearts fixed on Him, in whose presence is the fulness of joy.

There is no work of human composition, which has afforded me more comfort under this trying affliction, or seemed more applicable than 'Young's Night Thoughts.' I have frequently quoted to you such passages as have from time made the most forcible impression. The following possesses great force, beauty, and consolation.

'But why more woe? more comfort let it be,
Nothing is dead, but that which wished to die;
Nothing is dead, but wretchedness and pain;
Nothing is dead, but what incumbered, galled,
Blocked up the pass and barred from real life!'"

Page 94.

Lady Brenton we have seen had been in the habit of making copious extracts from her favourite authors; no doubt for the future benefit of her children; in allusion to one of these taken from Wilberforce's work on Practical Christianity, Sir Jahleel makes the following remark.

"However deeply you may be struck with the sentiments of the great and pious character, who has been himself so eminent an example of piety and virtue, who has so truly adorned that gospel which he professed, who has so strenuously endeavoured to shew his love to God, by his affection for his fellow creatures; however impressive you may, at a future period of your lives consider these arguments; they will to you, my darling children, appear with an additional force and value, thus treasured up for your attention, and guidance, by your beloved mother—by her, who first taught your infant lips to lisp the sacred name of God in prayer, and who enjoined you to place your trust, your hopes and your happiness in Him. How much do I owe to her, whom the Almighty, in His abundant mercy, was pleased to bestow upon me.

"Well indeed do I remember that upon our first meeting after that long separation, of which I have already told you, and previous to our marriage; with what sweet-

ness, what meekness, but with what dignified judgment, and true piety, did she instil similar sentiments into my mind; and shew me what erroneous views I had formed of the requisitions of Christianity. I was indeed a nominal christian; my chief apprehension was of being righteous over much, and I felt as though a general compliance with the letter of the commandments was all that was required of me; and even in the neglect of many of these, I comforted myself with the reflection that the Lord would not be 'extreme to mark what was done amiss.' I was even in the constant habit of committing a breach of the third commandment without being sensible of it, and allowed myself to use the sacred name of God, in common and trivial conversation, without feeling the wickedness of such profanation. For this she instantly but gently reproved me. On the very first day of our meeting she entreated me to conquer the habit, with so much earnestness of affection, and described the nature of it in such just terms, that the effect was instantaneous, and I can hardly remember having been afterwards guilty of it, never certainly without strong reproaches of conscience; and for many years it has given me a feeling of pain when I have heard others guilty of it, similar to what my beloved Isabella experienced for me. Having been sent into the world at an early age, and not having had the advantage in any ship to which I belonged in early life, of ever hearing religion mentioned; it had certainly not been cultivated in my mind; and but for the pains taken by my beloved mother in my childhood, which the Almighty had been pleased to enable me to

retain, amidst all the trials, temptations, and bad examples, to which I was so frequently exposed, and which I now deeply deplore, as having sometimes had dominion over me; but for these seeds thus preserved, I should indeed have been 'without God in the world.' But blessed be God, the inestimable treasure which he bestowed upon me in his mercy, soon opened my eyes, and taught me to see the difference between a nominal and a real christian. All my future hopes, all my present consolation arises from this source. It was from her ardent piety that I was taught to distrust the bare forms of religion, as utterly inadequate to the fulfilment of its duties; and learnt that our best efforts are imperfect, and can only be accepted through the atonement of our blessed Lord and Saviour."

In reference to some extracts from Buchanan's Christian Researches Sir Jahleel says, "to those who have not the same reason to cherish the remembrance of the beloved object who made the above extracts, they will naturally appear inconsequent and uninteresting, but to us, my beloved children, to whom every recollection of her is dear, they will appear and prove far different; they will excite in us a lively interest in the work to which they refer, we shall read it with more attention, we shall feel as though her dear eyes were still perusing those pages, and the subjects of them will make a deeper impression upon us. I already feel the force of this association, and am convinced that it will be an additional stimulus to me to exert myself in the object I now have in view; that of procuring the extension of the Church of England over this

colony, by every effort in my feeble power. Should I succeed to become, under Providence, the humble instrument towards forming even one establishment, and should I see it flourish, with what delight will you my darling children, at some distant period, when I also shall have left you, praise these memorials of your dear and affectionate parents; with what feeling will you contemplate our mutual love and respect for each other's sentiments, which will so often and so forcibly appear to you, as you read over these remarks, and behold them in this instance producing upon my mind the same powerful effect, as though my beloved and inestimable companion were still present with me, assisting me in my efforts, by her piety and judgment. It is time that I should inform you, that for many months I have made it my practice before I open these invaluable extracts, to offer up the following humble prayer to the Almighty. 'O! Almighty God, give me grace, I beseech Thee, most sincerely and affectionately to cherish the memory of my beloved wife, to imitate her piety and gratitude to Thee, to teach them to my beloved children, and may we at last all meet in Thy everlasting kingdom; through Jesus Christ, our Blessed Lord and Saviour. Amen.'"

In reference to an extract from the life of Sir William Jones, on the subject of the slave trade, he adds; "what a variety of feelings will the few lines thus rendered dear to us, my darling children, by the hand which treasured them up for us, excite in our minds. Every circumstance connected with this dreadful trade, every instance which has fallen under our

own experience, the gratitude and reverence due to the noble and undaunted mind, which could first contemplate the plan, and finally obtain the splendid feat of emancipation, strengthen the conviction. On what a proud eminence has the consistent and persevering piety of Wilberforce placed him! How far above the most successful hero that ever became the idol of a nation! Here indeed we see the precepts of our Blessed Saviour brought into practice. Here we see a fellow creature 'so letting his light shine before men,' that we are naturally inclined with one voice to 'glorify our Father which is in heaven.' We must, if we steadily contemplate the life and actions of this most exemplary of our countrymen, feel a desire to imitate him. His actions have given such irresistible strength and persuasion to his writings, that we must be influenced by them. He has indeed built his house upon a rock; the rain may descend and the floods come; the winds may blow and beat upon that house, but it will not fall. From this delightful contemplation we must, however reluctantly, turn our eyes to that great portion of the human race still in bondage, whom the energy of our beloved country has not yet been permitted to reach, blessed as it has been with the Divine Protection; their hour is not yet come, but it may be reserved for us as the humble instruments of the mercy of our Creator and Redeemer to soothe, and alleviate the sufferings of numbers now in misery; and we may hope that at some future period, perhaps not very distant, we may be the means under a kind Providence of liberating not only their bodies,

but their minds from the cruel captivity under which they are now suffering. The serious reflections which this subject must necessarily excite in our minds, will also produce another blessed effect. They will incline us to be kind and charitable to our poor fellow creatures, who although in the enjoyment of comparative liberty, are from adverse circumstances of poverty, sickness, and affliction, placed in a state of almost the same dependence upon us, as though they were our own property. The mind of your angelic mother was peculiarly alive to feelings of this description. The kindness, the mildness, the sweetness of her disposition, was as conspicuous towards her servants as towards her children. The natural consequence was, that they loved as well as respected her; her house was not only well regulated, but the abode of happiness to all who dwelt in it."

In reference to extracts from a sermon on the 19th Psalm, 1—3, author not known—"Let us endeavour to render these remarks valuable in directing our reflections, and in giving an habitual turn to our minds, by which the sublime scenery in the midst of which we dwell, may have an increasing influence in keeping alive our piety and gratitude to our Maker. If, as the excellent author of the above extracts observes, we contemplate the works of creation in both the points of view which he suggests, we shall have abundant employment for our thoughts, and they will insensibly rise from earth to heaven. Gratitude if really felt, will produce love and adoration, and as we daily endeavour to strive at that perfection of character,

which although beyond our reach, is held out to our view, in order to stimulate and purify us; we shall meet with a most gracious and inestimable reward, by the peace and comfort it will procure for us in this life, and the bright prospect of never ending joy in the life to come.

"In tracing the various phœnomena of nature back to their first causes, we are not only delighted with the employment, and instructed by the intelligence that daily breaks in upon us from every direction; but when our finite reason arrives at the end of her career, and refuses to conduct us further, we find ourselves at once in the presence of the Deity, the author of all things, who has been graciously pleased to reveal to us a part of the mysteries of creation, reserving the remainder to the future period of our interminable existence."

Extract from Lord Chatham's letters to his nephew. —"Behaviour is of infinite advantage to a man, as he happens to have formed it, to a noble, graceful, engaging and proper manner, or to a vulgar, coarse, and ill-bred, an awkward and ungenteel one."

Remarks by Sir Jahleel Brenton.—"I remember your mother taking great delight in the letters from which the foregoing is copied; and that she drew from them many of the ideas she had formed for the guidance and counsel of her own darling children, had it pleased the Almighty to have permitted them to enjoy for a longer period the blessing of such an instruction. Let us imagine to ourselves all she intended, and all she wished for you, and endeavour by a

tender and affectionate recollection of her statements to fulfil the object nearest to her heart. You, my sweet I——, will never forget the impressive manner in which your beloved mother inculcated the various instructions you received from her, or with what judgment she distinguished between those acquisitions which were to have an influence upon your comfort and prosperity through life, and such as were only likely to procure for you an ephemeral admiration. That you should gain entire possession of the former, was the object of her constant solicitude, of her unwearied endeavours, because she felt that real happiness even in this world, is not to be attained without piety and virtue; whereas experience had taught her, that the glare of shining accomplishments was often seen in characters devoid of both. With this impression upon your mind, it is probable that you may not be able to account for the importance attached to the carriage of your person by your inestimable mother; but I can in a few words explain the difficulty, which, under almost every similar circumstance, I feel the comfort of being able to do, from the perfect harmony of all our sentiments and opinions. Our Christian profession not only prescribes that we should individually perform our duty to our Maker, and our fellow creature, in such a manner as to fulfil the intention of our heavenly Father in creating us; but he has expressly ordered us to let our light so shine before men, that they may glorify our Father which is in heaven; and consequently that we may lead all who may be within the sphere of our influence to follow the example. You have already seen

enough of human nature to be convinced that much depends upon the manner of conveying instruction, and that we are frequently influenced by the association of ideas, in themselves totally distinct. A person, for instance, may utter the soundest doctrine, with the most sublime eloquence, yet should there be at the same time a distortion of countenance, any disgusting or repulsive peculiarity of action, or any moroseness or severity in his manner, the effect which such a discourse might have produced, would be very much lessened, and to many would be entirely lost, from the medium through which it had reached them. Let us follow up the reflection, and suppose a person making profession of strict attention to his religious duties, and not only professing, but really, as far as is consistent with human weakness, acting up to them. Let us suppose that he should be constant and regular in his devotions both public and private ; that the whole tenor of his conduct in the state of life in which he might be placed, should be upright, full of integrity, and unimpeachable ; that he should be indefatigable in doing good, and that his charity should be unbounded ; but also, that with all these mental qualifications he should be awkward in his gait, careless and slovenly in his person, coarse and ill-bred in his manners, mean and idiotical in his appearance, (for these blemishes and virtues are by no means incompatible,) what would be the effect produced upon those with whom he associated ? Would the influence of his good qualities be sufficiently strong to cover his defects ? Would those who were offended by his manner, and disgusted with his appearance, forget

these feelings in the contemplation of the bright parts of his character, of which they could only judge perhaps from the report of others? Or would there not arise on the contrary a general indisposition towards him? Some might even go so far as to attribute his failings to religion itself, and ascribe to this sublime principle the greater part of his faults, as the offspring of self-righteousness and contempt of the world.

"Let us on the other hand draw the delightful picture of the sincere and faithful servant of God, adorning his faith by his practice, resolute and full of energy in the performance of his duties; but at the same time, mild and amiable and graceful in his manners; if called upon to preach the word of God, his eloquence might be rendered still more persuasive, by the sweetness and dignity of his expression and gestures. In the daily intercourse with society, he might, by gentle, unassuming, and graceful manners, continue to enforce his doctrine, which would be rendered more attractive by the conviction, that it was not hostile to the elegance and refined enjoyments of life. Here my children, you may see the propriety, and even the necessity of attending to that correctness of conduct and gracefulness of manner, which is called politeness."

As the extracts terminate here, it appears but justice to the husband to insert the following from the pen and the heart of his wife.

Extract from Lady Brenton's journal, Simon's Town, April 19th, 1815.

"This day thirteen years I became the wife of my

beloved Brenton ; and most truly can I say, that never was woman blessed with a superior, or more exalted character in a husband than myself. When I say that I found him possessed of every virtue that can adorn or dignify human nature, I think I do not exaggerate, for I am not singular in my opinion : grateful indeed then do I feel to the all-wise disposer of events, that it pleased Him to vouchsafe me such a blessing, frail and erring mortal that I am. Our lives since our marriage have been chequered with a variety of scenes, but thanks be to Almighty God we have not met with any real misfortune; and the blessings we have received have proponderated so much, when weighed against the scale of disappointments, annoying circumstances, and pecuniary losses ; that we can only have one feeling, when we view our situation in its true and proper light, and that is, most unbounded gratitude to the Father of all mercies."

CHAPTER XVI.

REFLECTIONS ON THE DEATH OF LADY BRENTON. — EXTRACTS FROM THE PRIVATE MEMORANDA — SUFFERINGS FROM HIS WOUND, AND REMARKS ON THE SUBJECT.

LADY Brenton's death took place on July 29, 1817. A letter addressed to his mother, dated Simon's Bay, Sept. 17, 1817, will shew more clearly than any attempt at description, the feelings with which her attached and devoted husband contemplated his loss.

"SIMON'S BAY, SEPTEMBER 17th, 1817.

"MY DEAR MADAM,

"I have been long intending to write to you, but from the nature of the melancholy communication you will have received long before this reaches you, I could with difficulty bring myself to the exertion necessary.

"The Almighty is indeed merciful to us, and tempers the wind to our situation. You will scarcely believe, my dear Madam, that it should be possible for me to say that for some weeks past I have enjoyed more real tranquillity of mind than I have ever before known. It is nevertheless absolutely true. My happiest days were never unattended with anxiety. They were attended at the same time with a most inadequate idea of the value of the blessings I possessed. That none ever lost a more inestimable

treasure, all who knew her are deeply sensible. But I humbly hope that she has shewn me how to live and how to die. I once thought that I was leading a harmless and a blameless life, that I had a right to the rewards of another world. How different are my present sentiments, and how immediately did they change in this last hour of trial. I felt and feel so far from having fulfilled the duties of my station, that every recollection excites remorse by shewing me cause for it. When I thought I was living in the exercise of the fondest affection, how much neglect was admitted, and when I try my religious duties by the same standard, the effect is much more humiliating and awful, but yet the effect is peace. I no longer consider my own merit as the means of my ever rejoining my beloved B.; but the mercy and goodness of God and the atonement made by our blessed Redeemer. This is a foundation which nothing can shake, and this makes me view her as only preceding me for a short time. This consideration, my dear madam, is not a gloomy one. It has not put me out of conceit of this life. That would be impious and ungrateful. I shall enjoy with thankfulness, I hope, the years which a kind Providence may permit me to remain in this world, and endeavour to devote them to the duties of my station, to the education and happiness of my children; but it has taken the sting from death. I think I shall feel no longer any solicitude on that account, and that when called for I shall be able to go through my task with the same serenity that my beloved wife evinced. Had she been preparing for her journey to England, she could not have been more calm and collected. May my last end, may all our last ends be like hers.

"Your most dutiful and affectionate

J. B."

He was at the moment unconscious that another loss had occurred, which was to form a fresh trial for his faith, and was to search still more deeply the foundation of that peace on which he had been resting. His son Jervis, the boy to whom reference has been so often

made, and in whose opening qualities the fond parents had delighted to trace the seeds of much of mental and of moral promise, was carried off by a sudden attack of fever and sore throat, while at school at Winchester, on August 27, 1817, just one month after his mother's decease. A letter written to his brother on this occasion, may with propriety be subjoined, as exhibiting the spirit of calm Christian submission with which Sir Jahleel resigned these objects of his tenderest affection.

"SIMONS BAY, JANUARY 16th, 1818.

"MY DEAR E.

"Your kind and affectionate letter I found upon my arrival from the eastward. The melancholy intelligence contained had already reached me, having been most considerately sent by ——— to prevent my receiving too sudden a blow upon my return home. It was indeed severe, but tempered with mercy by that benign Being, who has granted me a far greater share of blessing than afflictions, and whose present awful dispensation I feel every day more and more to be intended for my ultimate happiness. I was indeed, my dear E. too much absorbed in my worldly possessions, from my earliest infancy. I had attached the highest value to domestic felicity, and I need not tell you to what an extent I was permitted to enjoy it: instead of finding it like all other worldly objects, greater in prospect than when present, I experienced that it was more solid and real than my most sanguine expectations had ever pictured it, and that my home became every day dearer to me. I almost lost sight of the hand which bestowed my blessings in the enjoyment of them, and in my anxiety for their future welfare. I can now see the wickedness of such feelings. When my beloved wife was called away from me, the world appeared to have totally changed its aspect to me, and lost every source of comfort. Although I neither repined at the divine dispensation, nor gave myself up to

despair, yet there was indifference as to this life, which I hoped was not culpable, but could not approve. I almost forgot the blessings which were still left me, and the necessity for strong exertion to fulfil my duty to them. The last calamity I now feel to have been sent to awaken me from so criminal a lethargy, and I hope it has effectually done so. The first consolatory reflection which came to my assistance, and it was immediate, was that my darling B. had been spared the agony which I felt; that her gentle spirit had been placed beyond the reach of affliction, had been permitted, during the last weeks of its continuance here, to devote itself to its Creator without one anxious thought either for itself or for those dear to it. How dreadfully would this angelic tranquillity have been disturbed had she heard of the illness and loss of her darling child. This idea never deserts me, and has comforted me more than I can describe. I can hardly persuade myself I have met with a second loss in so short a time, indeed I have almost lost sight of my own affliction in the contemplation of their happiness.

"Your affectionate

"J. B."

The circumstances under which Sir Jahleel received the intelligence of his son's death were peculiarly touching. He had been induced to undertake a journey into the interior, for the double purpose of exploring the resources which those parts of the country offered for the naval arsenal, and for ascertaining the possibility of establishing a coasting trade along the eastern line of coast; and had reached the town of George, on his return from the mouth of the Knyzna, the proposed limit of his tour; when he and his companions saw from the house where they were resting, the postman from Cape Town entering the village by a bridge. Struck with the coincidence of the scene,

Sir Jahleel was on the point of repeating to his friends the well known lines in which Cowper contemplates the varied contents of the postman's bag when arriving in Olney; when he was compelled to feel the reality of the description by the letters which he had to open. They contained the intelligence of his son's death; whom letters received but a week before had represented as being in the full enjoyment of health; and the deep and affecting regret with which the head master announced the loss of his promising and cherished pupil, must have added to the sadness with which the father learnt the fact that this treasured tie, to which he had turned with so much fondness in the first bitterness of his loss, was thus suddenly taken from him.

The journal from which so much has been drawn on previous occasions, contains frequent references to this severe and complicated trial. I merely select a few passages as sufficient to indicate the general character of his remarks, and as being most contiguous in point of time.

"July 29th, 1818. This, my darling children, is the first anniversary which has come round of our irreparable loss. It has indeed been a year of affliction to us, for much as we were prepared for the inevitable blow as regarded your dear mother, still the awful reality was severely felt. This was soon followed by another as severe, and unexpected. Your dear brother was called in a few days after the departure of his angelic mother to follow her to the grave; but that is not the view in which we should contemplate our dear departed

saints. They were mercifully called to meet each other in heaven. How benignly does the Almighty temper our afflictions, that we may be enabled to support our trials. Had there been an apprehension of such a calamity befalling us, as the loss we experienced in the course of one short month, we should have doubted our power to sustain it; but when the last afflicting tidings came, they found us already prostrate before the throne of mercy, humbly endeavouring to resign ourselves to the Divine Will, and in such a frame more able to support the pressure of adversity, than if it had visited us during some of those periods of indescribable happiness, which our bountiful and merciful Creator has so frequently been pleased to bestow upon us. When the loss of your dear brother was announced to me, bitter as the affliction was, it came accompanied with a source of consolation of which the effect was instantaneous. The idea that his mother had been spared the misery of such a loss, that they had met in heaven, that their sufferings were at an end; that they had been mutually spared the wretchedness of mourning for each other; these comforting reflections instantly crowded into my mind, and saved me from much of the anguish which I must have endured at any other period.

"A whole year has now elapsed, and the retrospect, affecting as it is, nevertheless abounds in comfort. We have that feeling that the world is not our all. If it had been, what would have been our situation now? From my own experience I deeply feel the chastening, but merciful hand of God in these awful dispensations.

They have awakened me to a true sense of my situation, and have shewn me, that whilst happy here, my eternal felicity was at stake; for I was guilty of gross idolatry, by allowing every thought to centre in the blessings bestowed upon me, with little more than a nominal reference to the all-merciful Providence from whom I received them. This is the first year of my life in which I can conscientiously claim to have made any progress in religious attainments; for greatly defective as I must still allow myself to be, I feel that I have a deeper sense of the divine presence constantly upon my mind; that I have less of that dreadful repugnance to the service of my Maker, and more energy in the performance of it; and I can feel that in all my pursuits, whether professional or otherwise, I am constantly influenced by a sense of their being religious duties. The memory of what I have lost has scarcely ever been absent from my mind, indeed every thing recalls it, but my tranquillity and even cheerfulness has been greater than at almost any period of my life, for I have lost all cause of anxiety. Formerly I was wretched on account of my own health, about my circumstances and worldly successes, unmindful of the Divine protection who had never deserted me. Now I learn to resign myself to His Divine will; to entrust you, my darling children, to his care; and I have also acquired the conviction that there is no situation in life, however successful we may be in all our pursuits, capable of conferring real and permanent happiness; for had I been placed on the pinnacle of human glory—the admiration, the idol, and the envy of all around me—this

blow would have humbled me to the dust, for I can with sincerity say that all my successes in life have derived their chief value from your mother having participated in them.

'How I dreamt,
Of things impossible! Could sleep do more?
Of joys perpetual, in perpetual change,
Of stable pleasures on the tossing wave,
Perpetual sunshine in the storms of life;
How richly were my noontide trances hung
With gorgeous tapestries of pictured joys,
Joy behind joy, in endless perspective!'

"My whole life had been almost such a dream, mixed, it is true, with many causeless and culpable anxieties. Blessed with all that could render life a state of happiness, the most perfect description of it, domestic happiness, I never once considered the certainty that a few years must end it, but allowed myself to be as much absorbed in the contemplation of it as though this life were all in all. With a full and perfect conviction upon my mind of the truths of our holy religion, of the promises of the gospel, still I found the charms of this world capable of taking entire possession of me. How differently do I now view it. Affliction only can clear away the mist from before our eyes, and enable us to distinguish the fleeting and chequered enjoyments of this world, from the real and never ending felicity which can only be attained in that which is to come.

"26th September, 1818.—Nearly fourteen months have now elapsed since the departure of your beloved mother, and eight since the tidings reached me of our dear Jervis having followed her to the realms of bliss.

During the whole period of my life I do not remember any to have passed with more entire tranquillity than this season of affliction, or with more consistency of reflection.

"When I am suffering most from depression of mind, and the mournful contemplation of my widowed state, I can readily trace these gloomy feelings to their source; and find them to have taken possession of me, as the world renews its cares and influence, and renders the view of eternity less distinct than when seen through that pass by which your beloved mother and brother have entered into it.

"24th September, 1820. A long interruption has here occurred, my darling children, and prevented for many months the continuance of an employment, which had not only become most deeply interesting, but in a manner sacred; as its intention was to keep alive in your minds the remembrance of your mother's virtues, and to lead you to cherish them in your hearts, as so many delightful and irresistible examples for your own conduct. The interruption has not only been long, but very nearly final, from the severe illness by which it was occasioned; but a kind and merciful Providence has, in addition to innumerable mercies and blessings, brought me through this trial, and restored me, if not to health, at least to the capability of resuming my former occupations.

"It has often occurred to me whilst lying on the bed of sickness, that the reflections necessarily suggested by such a state, if accurately recorded, would not only be of the greatest value to the sufferer, should

he be permitted to recover, but also of inestimable benefit to many who might have escaped such experience; and it most forcibly struck me, as a most appropriate subject for this journal, in which I hope, my dear children, you will continue to derive religious instructions from your affectionate parents, long after the period in which they will have been called away from you. Here under the influence of the most tender associations and recollections, you will find yourselves assured that the hour of affliction is rarely, if ever, without its sources of alleviation; to the sincere Christian, I may add with confidence, never.

"My illness was occasioned by cold, and violent inflammation in my wound, which had been closed for upwards of four years. This led to the formation of an extensive abscess, which for some days kept me in a very dangerous state; it confined me to my bed for several weeks, and for six months has reduced me to the state of a cripple, in which I must expect to remain for some time longer. I do not remember during any period of my illness to have considered the danger imminent, but I feel a comfort in the recollection that I had no considerable anxiety, or any afflicting thoughts, even in the most alarming moments. But I had many serious and salutary reflections, for which I hope to be the better during the remainder of my days. The retrospect of the last years of my life did not afford me the consolation and confidence which I had so often and so presumptuously flattered myself it would have done. On the contrary, it brought the most unanswerable evidence that I had been living

in error and vanity, in a system of Christianity very different from that laid down by our blessed Saviour. This was the light in which I began to view the last, and what I had arrogantly considered the meritorious part of my conduct; but how innumerable were the instances, or rather how constant was the practice of my 'living without God in the world.' How entirely did I find that I had devoted myself to this life, and how faint were the impressions of the life to come. And yet I had been in the habit of considering myself so certain of salvation, as to look forward to death as the only source of consolation for the affliction I had experienced in the loss of your sainted parent and brother. Such a confidence is indeed a delightful one if it be properly and rightly sustained; and if it can be rationally indulged, is certain of being efficacious under the heaviest pressure of worldly misery. But it is not to be attained so easily as we are frequently induced to imagine, by dividing our affections between this world and the world to come; or rather by paying a formal heartless worship to God, whilst all our thoughts are occupied in our worldly treasures, in those we have lost, or in those we still possess or fear to lose. Could we bring ourselves to say with real sincerity of heart and perfect resignation, 'Thy holy will be done;' could we devote the remainder of our lives to Him, who gives and takes away, as infinite wisdom suggests; could we enjoy the blessings of this life with gratitude, but look forward with hope, delight, and confidence to the divine promises for eternal happiness, then indeed we might say, 'O! death where is thy sting, O! grave

where is thy victory!' We might then say with the excellent and pious Doddridge, that 'the cords of affection which would have tied us to the earth, and have added new pangs to our removal from it, are become as a golden chain to draw us upward, and add one further charm and joy to even paradise itself.' This most desirable, most pleasant state of mind can never be gained by our own unassisted exertions. This is a truth which cannot be too frequently repeated to us. Thousands have sought for it in vain. To obtain it, we must unreservedly give ourselves to our blessed Redeemer, and seek for comfort through His divine atonement. My frame of mind previous to this illness had been very different. I thought less of the awful deficiency, which must appear when I should be called upon to render an account of the talent which had been committed to my charge, than of my fancied superiority over such of my fellow creatures as were openly disobeying the commandments of God; and like the self-righteous Pharisee, I felt, if I did not express, my self-gratulation in not being as the 'Publican;' little reflecting, that he might be inwardly struggling against an evil nature, performing acts of virtue unknown to all but his Creator, and depending solely for help and pardon on Him, who says, 'whosoever cometh unto me I will in no ways cast out.' Reflections such as these could have no effect in inspiring confidence or hope, when on the confines of death, or in bearing up the spirit to sustain its infirmities; they were consequently rejected as productive rather of despair than consolation. I am happy to say, they were as transi-

tory as useless, and that I turned at once to Him, who alone could give me peace, to our blessed Saviour and Redeemer. His words appeared to be instantly verified. I felt the burden with which I was 'weary and heavy laden,' at once removed, and that I could cast my care on Him. I prayed for strength of mind to conquer my worldly feelings and propensities; for gratitude for all the blessings vouchsafed to me, but above all for that most stupendous sacrifice, by which I was redeeemed from sin and misery; that it might bring forth in me the most perfect resignation to the Divine Will, the most perfect trust and confidence in God; the most unbounded and indefatigable charity to my fellow creatures. If I am still without the object of this prayer, yet I have the comfort of knowing, that I am much more sensible of my deficiencies; and that I do daily and constantly indulge the humble hope, that I shall be graciously assisted in conquering the remaining depravities and corruptions of my nature.

"Blessed with all that could render life a state of happiness, the most perfect description of it, domestic happiness; I never once considered the certainty that a few years must end it, but allowed myself to be as much absorbed in the contemplation of it as though this life were all in all. With a full and perfect conviction upon my mind of the truths of our Holy Religion, and of the promises of the gospel, still I found the charms of this world capable of taking entire possession of me. How differently do I now view it. Affliction only can clear away the mist from our eyes, and enable us to distinguish the fleeting and chequered enjoyments of this

world, from the real and never ending felicity which can only be attained in that which is to come."

In allusion to the death of his wife and his son—"Those events which in the course of my life have appeared the most unpromising, and have been attended with the most anxiety, have frequently and generally proved the sources of comfort and happiness. The two heavy dispensations, which have lately befallen me, cannot have such consequences in this world; but I fervently and humbly trust they may be the means of preparing me for eternal happiness in the next, by awakening me from an attachment to the things of this life, which almost exclusively occupied my thoughts. The more innocent the affections, the more we are inclined to indulge them, and the less do we perceive our danger of being drawn away from God. But the Almighty in his wisdom and mercy knew what was best for me. He has afflicted me, and I humbly implore his Holy Spirit to give me perfect resignation to his Divine will. How keen would have been my grief for the loss of so promising a child as your brother Jervis, at such an age, and whom I had fondly contemplated as my successor and representative, if I had only thought of him in a worldly point of view. But seeing him as I do, disposed of by Divine wisdom, I resign him into the hands of his Maker. It is true, he will never more come to me, but I humbly trust I shall go to him. May worldly wisdom grow every day more insignificant in your eyes, my dear children; at least such wisdom as is so generally sought for. You will soon attain the delightful experience, that even for success, prosperity,

and happiness in this world, Divine Wisdom is all in all."

"October the 12th.—The frequent menacing appearances which my health and wound assume, form a constant source of serious reflection, and I feel that it may be neither unimportant, nor a waste of time, to note these thoughts down as they occur. They may be of infinite benefit to you, my dear children, in influencing your conduct on similar occasions, should you be visited by them; and the experience of those we love has a powerful effect in fixing our resolutions, and dictating our line of conduct. In the first place then, I am more than ever convinced that trials and afflictions are sent for our good, sent in kindness and in mercy; and that so far from repining under them, we incur an awful responsibility, if we do not turn them to good account, by taking them as warnings against our worldly attachments, and by listening to the voice with which they so earnestly direct us towards eternity. This duty is obvious and imperative, however hard to fulfil. It is now the chief object of my solicitude; and I feel that I can only appropriate to myself the blessed hope of immortality, in proportion to the measure in which I can resign myself to the Divine will, and preserve my mind unshaken by the cares and anxieties of life. So happy a frame of mind is neither easily to be acquired, nor long preserved, amidst the shocks to which we are exposed, and the conflicting passions of our nature. I hope, however, I have succeeded, my dearest my beloved children, in resigning you into the hands of a merciful, and an omnipotent Protector; and I

humbly trust that you will ever remain under his paternal care, receiving with gratitude the blessings He bestows, and seeking the Divine approbation as your only object."

The narrative has perhaps been suspended too long, while the private meditations and recollections of this excellent man have been thus brought before the reader. But the Editor feels no apology due for the delay. It has been said already, and said more than once, that the object of the present volume was to present to the public the picture, not of the seaman, or the officer, but of the man; and the portrait would have been incomplete, it would have been deficient in that which like expression in painting, gives the chief value to the representation, if dwelling on features of general interest, and which must arrest universal attention, it had neglected or omitted others more adapted to private life, and suited to personal application. The world have long known what Sir Jahleel Brenton was on the deck, in the hour of action, or the storm. It is the object of the present memoir to shew what he was in the retirement of his home, as a husband, a father, and a man; and with this in view, the Editor trusts that he has not trespassed too largely, either on the patience of his readers, or on the sacredness of private memorials, by shewing how Sir Jahleel Brenton bore the trials to which he was subjected in private life, and the exemplary manner in which he discharged the several relations in which he stood. It need not be doubted that the service included officers, whose courage, whose zeal, whose intelligence and self-

possession were equal to his; and it is possible that there were some who might have been compared to him in other respects; but it is the combination of qualities which gives to character its peculiarity; and it is the peculiarity of character which renders its example profitable. The earlier portion of the narrative exhibited its subject in the form which appeared most consistent with his excellence as an officer; but justice seems to require, that he who was as admirable for the gentler qualities of his nature, as for those which were suited to arrest the world's notice, should be presented to the reader in other scenes, and under other trials; as occupying the painful post of observation, while watching the sick-bed of that wife, for whom he had entertained an attachment as romantic as it was reasonable; as subsequently cherishing and educating the children, whom her lengthened sickness and early removal had devolved on his care; as exercising all the graces of Christian benevolence in his intercourse with his fellow creatures, wherever his lot was cast; and as engaged in seeking comfort for himself, under a loss that seemed to be irreparable, by meditating on the promises of scripture.

The character of the remainder of his life was to be essentially different from that of its commencement. The excitement of hope, the energy of enterprize, the exultation of triumph were to be exchanged for calmer feelings, adapted to the circumstances in which he was to be placed. But a surer test of excellence can hardly be conceived, than to see it uniformly exhibited under every variety of position; exposed to trial in

different ways, and superior to trial in all; and the principle which supports men under successive forms of temptation, which overcomes the weaknesses of age as well as the weaknesses of youth, and gives to every part of life the same characteristic tone of goodness, is the most entitled to admiration, as it proves most effectively the purity of its original.

From the date of Lady Brenton's death, Sir Jahleel's residence at the Cape did not include any event which calls for particular notice. The stirring interests of a time of war had been succeeded by a peace, which seemed more likely to be durable, from the exhaustion to which the contending powers had been reduced by the length of the previous contest. The duties of his office occupied his day; the care of his children occupied his earlier and later hours; and few men were better qualified by talent, taste, and habitual gentleness of mind for the discharge of this last—this anxious and delicate duty. Having the singular advantage of a sister residing with him, and of a sister who sympathised with all his feelings, and entered into all his views, he was able to pursue with less uneasiness the labours which his public employment occasioned, even when they rendered absence from home necessary; and shortly after the event which left him a widower, he felt it his duty to undertake a journey of considerable extent, along the Eastern coast as far as the mouth of the Knyzna; in order to ascertain, by personal observation, some points of considerable importance for the public service. Of these the chief were to investigate the facilities for establishing a coasting trade along the

shores of the colony, and to examine resources which the mouth of the river Knyzna offered as a harbour for the shipping employed for this purpose; and connected with this, to get some information as to the quality of the timber produced in the forests, and its fitness for the purposes of the dock-yard. He has left a detailed narrative of this journey, which amply deserves publication, and which accordingly is printed as it is found. It contains an interesting description of the scenery through which he passed—a country which even at present is comparatively unknown; but it is still more valuable as exhibiting the character of the mind with which he viewed it. The journey was undertaken very shortly after the loss which seemed to him so irreparable; and yet we meet with no querulous expressions of grief, no idle recollections of past happiness. He had resigned the being whom he loved above all earthly things to the will of Him, from whom he had first received her; and conscious that the best resource for his own weakness was employment; and trusting that the discharge of duty would bring consolation with it, he seems to have looked round for opportunities of usefulness, and to have sought comfort for himself in endeavouring to do good to others. Gifted as he was with a taste for scenery, and capable of viewing every combination in nature with an artist's eye, the remarks with which his journal are filled, are chiefly characterized by benevolence and zeal for his country's service. In every place he visits, the welfare of the people, and the means of public improvement, are the objects that principally attract his attention; and while every thing is

noted, and noted in a way which shews how fully it was appreciated, an universal desire to do good predominates in the observations which he makes, and marks what was passing in the heart of the writer.

The narrative concludes abruptly, and the reader who has accompanied him in his wanderings through that beautiful, and at that time unexplored region, will hear with pain that the cause, which terminated the journey, and closed the narrative so suddenly, was the arrival of a letter which reached him on his way back from the mouth of the Knyzna, and which announced the death of his son Jervis. This boy, to whom such frequent reference has been made in the Journal, and whose character seemed to justify all that was felt towards him, died at Winchester School, after a very short illness, and within a few days of that which closed Lady Brenton's life. His fond mother was spared the pang of hearing of that event, and he was spared the pain with which he must have heard of her release; but Sir Jahleel, through this singular concurrence of trials, merely passed from one affliction to meet the shock of the other; and perhaps was thus to learn that no earthly comfort was to be made use of as a resting place for the soul, or to occupy affections which were due to God alone.

CHAPTER XVII.

NARRATIVE OF A JOURNEY TO THE MOUTH OF THE KNYZNA.

"THE result of all the information obtained respecting the Knyzna, and the report of its being admirably adapted as a shipping place for the timber required for the use of the dock yard, as well as for cargoes to send to England, induced me to form the resolution of visiting it, for the purpose of ascertaining how far it might be made to realize the idea which I had formed of its being made useful on a large scale, not only to the naval department but to the colony. It was not until the month of November, 1817, that I was enabled to fulfil my intentions.

"On the 24th of that month I left Sans Souci, the residence of my talented and well informed friend, Colonel Warre,* the Deputy Quarter Master General, accompanied by him and Colonel Graham, the Commandant of Simon's Town. This officer had long commanded the Hottentot or Kaffer corps, on the eastern frontier, by whom, and by all the inhabitants of every

* Now Major General Sir William Warre, K. C. B.

part of the colony where he was known, he was universally respected and beloved, as a gallant soldier and a most amiable man. His knowledge of the colony was perhaps greater than that of any other individual who had held military employment in it; and his knowledge of the character of the Dutch colonists and Hottentots, as well as his judgment in his intercourse with them was such, that a more valuable or more agreeable companion could not have been selected. His skill in field sports especially rendered him the idol of the Hottentots, who looked up to him as something more than mortal.

"For our convenience in travelling, the governor lent us one of the colonial wagons, admirably qualified by its strength, and as much lightness as such a vehicle is susceptible of possessing, for the purpose. In this we carried our baggage, and were enabled to take shelter from the weather, either from rain or heat. We had also our saddle horses and servants, and were supplied with such articles as we were not likely to find in the interior of the colony. Little however was needful, for we were assured of meeting with the most unbounded hospitality, wherever we might stop; nor were we disappointed in any one instance that I can recollect; and the only recompense that would ever be accepted, almost by the very poorest families, was the game that might have been killed by my two companions in the course of the day's journey.

"We passed the first night in the hospitable and comfortable mansion of Mr. Lawrence Cloett, at Sandvliet; whose estate was daily increasing in value from the improvements he was making. His breed of horses

bids fair to be very valuable to the colony, and was very numerous. He spared no pains or expence in procuring thorough-bred stallions, and the colts were in consequence in great demand.

"Mr. Cloett also paid great attention to his vineyards, from which he made annually 1000 leaguers of wine upon an average. Limestone is another very profitable production of this estate, which is sent in large quantities to Cape town; as well as many loads of hay. This hay is made from oats sown for the purpose, and cut in time to prevent the grain from being easily separated from the stem. It is mown while green, and treated in the same manner as grass in England. This is considered to be the very best forage that can be given to horses; such at least was the opinion of Lord Charles Somerset, who would be considered as good authority on such a subject.

"Mr. Cloett, aware of the object of my journey as regarding the timber of the colony, directed my notice to the durability of the different kinds of wood according to the season in which it was cut. Comparing the timber felled in midwinter, when the sap was down, with that which had been promiscuously cut at all seasons, he had found that the former lasted for many years, the other being of a very short duration. This information was of great importance, as the yellow wood is almost universally employed for house carpenters' work where deal is used in Europe, but we had found it would not bear exposure to wet or damp.

"On the 25th, at 8 o'clock, our party left Sand-vliet, and crossing the Erste river, the horse of Colonel Warre

got into one of the quicksands, which are very frequent on all the beaches along this coast; but he was soon extricated, and we found a fine hard sand, on which we galloped to Gordon's Bay. This little bay, which is completely sheltered from the prevailing south-east wind, the only wind to be much dreaded in False bay, lies immediately under Hottentots Holland Kloof; and offers to the resident, means of transporting the corn and produce of the eastern districts to Simon's bay. But the Dutch always appear to have had a decided aversion to a coasting trade; and when I was endeavouring to persuade a farmer (and one of a description that might be called educated) of the great advantage of having a schooner of seventy tons, which would take seventy loads of corn to the Cape Town market; while, if carried by land, it would be the work of 980 oxen, 140 slaves, with 70 wagons; he replied, 'True, Commissioner, but then you see, mine fader and mine grandfader always send his corn mid de bullock vagen; and why not I?' This argument is rarely to be got over.

"Were a mole carried out in Gordon's bay, it would be attended with immense advantages, not only to the Naval and Victuallers' Establishments in Simon's bay, but to Cape Town also; to which wagons drawn by fourteen and often by sixteen oxen, laden with only one ton of farm produce, are dragged, through a deep sand for at least thirty miles, out of the whole distance, which is forty. The coasting vessels would then be in perfect security with all winds, and only leave the port when there was a moral certainty of a quick passage. A moderate S.E. wind, the prevailing wind nine months

out of twelve, would carry them to Simon's bay in less than six hours, and in twelve or fourteen to Table bay. No coaster should be employed in False bay of a greater burthen than 100 tons, as a light draught of water would enable them to get close in shore for loading and unloading, not only in Gordon's, but in Simon's bay and Table bay.

"The road over the western extremity of the great branch of the Swartberg, or mountains which run parallel with the south-east coast, which is called Hottentots Hollands Kloof, commences at Gordon's bay, and was at this time so steep and rugged, as to be attended with much difficulty, especially to the heavy wagons of the country. Our party however having their saddle horses with them, found great enjoyment in ascending it, as in the frequent halts which it was necessary to make, they had a most splendid view of the Cape Flat, as the level or the isthmus is called, which stretches between the Table mountain and those of the Blueberg.

"From the summit of Hottentots Holland Kloof the view towards the north and the west is sublime and magnificent beyond description, and can scarcely be surpassed. The Table mountain, which forms a striking feature on the western side of the isthmus, appears from the height on which the spectator stands, diminished to a small island; whilst the Cape Flat, as the isthmus is called, which connects it with the range of mountains skirting the eastern side of it, is dotted with farms and vineyards, especially near the Table mountain, where the two Constantias, Newlands Wynburg, and Rende-

lins look like clusters of ornamental cottages; and even the tracts of bare white sand, which are interspersed amidst the colouring of every hue, from that of the dark cypress to the brightest green of spring, produced by the innumerable shrubs which clothe the plain and the sides of the mountains, become features of extraordinary beauty, lighting up the landscape with the most forcible touches.

"The view on the S.E. side of this range of mountains is far less interesting. A wide extent of barren and broken ground, offering to the eye a fatiguing monotony without any grand or striking features as in Scotland or Wales; and wanting the little pan of cultivated land occasionally seen in the vallies bordering the silver stream.

"We at last surmounted this pass, which could only be effected by putting oxen to the wagon, which being trained to the task, and by nature more patient than the horse, slowly but certainly get up the mountain with the heaviest load. Where one span, or team, is found insufficient, it is frequently the case that two are put on, and as many as thirty-two oxen may be seen crawling up the mountain, at a distance resembling an immense caterpillar. The road from Hottentots Holland to the Palmut river is broken and irregular. The river which we had now to ford was but of little depth. The greater part of the summer it is nearly dry, but in the winter it is frequently impassable from the violence and depth of the torrents. This circumstance occasions great impediments in travelling through the colony; a delay of many days is frequently experienced, and even whole

families, who have left their homes for the purpose of going to a Church only a few miles distant, have been detained many days on the banks of one of these torrents, without the possibility of getting across: at the same time no house being near, they have been under the necessity of making their bivouac, in and under the wagon; the boor furnishing them with provisions by means of his gun, from which he is seldom separated; and which is his never failing companion in his journies.

"A most remarkable circumstance grew out of this uncertainty, as to passing the rivers, while I was a resident in the colony. Some farmers, residing within a few miles of Stelenbosch, were in the habit of going thither to church on the Sunday, and having to pass a river on the way, were frequently detained in the manner above mentioned. In consequence of this inconvenience, they determined to purchase a piece of land, on which they might, as they could collect the means, build a church for their own immediate neighbourhood; accordingly they collected amongst themselves 23,000 guilders—at that time about £330 sterling—and bought a considerable piece of ground with it. Having apportioned as much of this as they judged necessary for the church, the parsonage house, glebe, &c., &c., they divided the remainder into lots, for dwelling houses and gardens, and put them up to auction with a view of getting back some of the purchase money. Extraordinary as it may appear, it is nevertheless a fact, that the remnant of a piece of land, the whole of which had been purchased for 23,000 guilders, thus divided into small lots, fetched by auction the enormous sum of 163,000 guil-

ders. It was of course the vicinity of the intended church, and the prospect of a town rising round it, which gave this immense increase of value to the land; and what encouragement does this hold out, even to worldly speculators, as to the expediency of building churches. We have heard it stated that the million sterling, which some years since, was appropriated by parliament for building churches, has brought in an immense interest in the shape of taxes of various descriptions levied upon the houses which have been built, and the population which has been collected round them; and if to these are added the produce of the excise, the gain must be very great—no money whatever, perhaps, ever brought in so large a return as this did.

"But the circumstance becomes deeply interesting in a much higher point of view. It shews the earnest desire even of the Cape Boor for religious instruction—and 'that the fields are indeed white unto harvest while the labourers are few.'

"The Palmut river was not at this time very deep, but the water came up nearly to the bottom of the wagon. The dogs which accompanied the party had in consequence a very narrow escape from being drowned. In order to prevent their feet from being cut by the rough roads, and to keep them fresh against the time when their services might be called for, they were generally put in baskets in which their beds were made, and hung under the wagon, but so close to the bottom of it, as to prevent their jumping out. Upon this occasion they had been forgotten, and on passing through the river there was

barely space between the surface of the water and the bottom of the wagon, to enable them to keep their noses out of it. Three inches more and they must have been lost. Towards evening the windings of the Palmut River, and the fine outline of the Swartberg mountains—the one contrasted with the deep shade thrown over the land, and the others with the bright blue sky, formed a magnificent picture.

"We passed the night at the house of a Dutch farmer, named Uric, where we were most comfortably accommodated. He was a very industrious man, and although a cripple from rheumatism, and only assisted by two slaves, had succeeded in the course of two years in building a house, in planting a large vineyard, and providing for his children and grand-children.

"On the 26th, having procured oxen for the purpose, we began to ascend the great Hac-hoek (or the great high corner) the road passing over a range of mountains diverging from the great chain of the Swartberg, and running towards the sea near Cape Lagullos. The view from the summit of this pass was highly picturesque. On the left, the grand chain of the Swartberg which runs along the coast from False Cape to Algoa bay was seen receding and losing itself in a vivid blue distance. At the foot of the Hac-hoek, on the eastern side, runs the Both Riviere, which in the summer like almost all the smaller Cape rivers, is little more than the bed of a winter torrent. Here we found again a labourious settler, living on a farm on the left bank of this river, in which but a very few years before he had considered himself with his large family as in a state of

independence. He had built a mill just below his house, and by a lateral cut he had brought the water to turn it. This had cost him infinite labour to effect, but it answered admirably. His garden, containing abundance of fruit trees, and about two thousand vines, was contiguous to the mill, and was watered by the stream that turned it. But the river increased in the course of one night to a fearful torrent, which destroyed his garden and vineyard, ruined his mill, and covered the soil near his house with such a deluge of sand and rocks as to render it almost unfit for future cultivation. The worthy man was for some time in a state of despair, declared himself ruined, and saw nothing before him but a miserable old age. He however exerted himself with renewed energy, selected another spot for a mill and garden on the opposite side of the river, and his efforts have been crowned with success: only a very few years had elapsed when we saw him, with his mill restored and in use, and an extensive garden with a vineyard of twenty thousand vines. We found him in the full enjoyment of his well merited prosperity, an example of patience and industry to all his neighbours.

"After passing the Both Riviere the country lost its precipitous character, but was intersected by deep ravines extending from the base of the mountains to the sea on the S.E. coast, the hills sloping gradually into them, their sides abounding in verdure, but with few trees. The vallies were in general well supplied with water, and consequently fertile, better calculated for vines than corn, although the latter grows in abundance where there is moisture.

"We arrived in the middle of the day at Caledon, a town which may be supposed by its name to have had its origin under the British Government. It is situated in the Brandt valley, and near the hot baths. It was founded in 1810, and had at this period a very imposing appearance, with its church, town house, and magistrate's houses; the other dwellings have also a pretty appearance, being white-washed and neatly painted. There is but little taste displayed in point of architecture, in which the Dutch taste is not only prevalent but exclusive.

"We here were most hospitably received and entertained by the chief magistrate, Mr. Frawenfeller, and passed a day with him in viewing the baths, the hospital, and the leper establishment. This hideous disease of leprosy is held perhaps in greater horror by the Dutch than by other nations, who are careful to keep those affected by it as separate as possible from the population; in which they are undoubtedly right, provided the afflicted are not made to suffer from these restrictions, which, from the information obtained here, was not suspected to be the case.

"From Caledon I proceeded with my friends to Bavian's Kloof, as we were very desirous of seeing the Moravian establishment in that neighbourhood, called by them Genadendahl, or the vale of grace. The road on leaving Caledon, and until near Bavian's Kloof, was very bad, winding round the sides of the mountain. The country had much of the same undulating appearance as that between the Hac-hock and Caledon, but on approaching Bavian's Kloof it became level and good.

The morning had been wet, but clearing up as we approached the Moravian settlement, we saw it to great advantage. The Swartberg mountains, elevated, bleak, and bare, formed the back ground of the view, and appeared to overhang Genadendahl. The road ran between two moderately elevated hills on each hand, with a fertile and well cultivated valley between them, and led winding through extensive corn grounds, and large tracts of heath to the Moravian establishment. These corn grounds are in general the property of the Hottentots, who have sought refuge among the Moravians from the persecution of the boors, and many of them evince great proofs of skill and industry; others again shew that their owners had not entirely conquered that aversion to labour, which is so strikingly manifested by that people. The first view of Bavian's Kloof and the vallies surrounding the missionary establishment is very striking, and reminded us forcibly of those affecting descriptions of the pastor and his flock in the wild and mountainous parts of Scotland, to which the Presbyterians had been driven in that country, in the days of persecution. The church, a modest but spacious building, with its roof of thatch, rose to a considerable height amidst the cottages of the Hottentots, which surrounded it in every direction, and in every variety of form and grade of civilization. They appeared to have sought and to have obtained protection under the shadow of the house of God, and the valley appeared to be at once the vale of grace, and the vale of peace. It was truly delightful to observe the gradual, but in many instances the very high degree

of improvement, which had taken place in the habits of this most interesting race, and the reverence, and gratitude, and love many of them shewed towards their kind and single-hearted protectors.

"The establishment was originally founded in 1733, by the Moravian Smyth, but in consequence of the hostility of the Dutch colonists it was broken up in 1742. A pear tree planted by Mr. Smyth during the period, now remained in the garden, as a monument of the first existence of the retreat. It was re-established in 1792; but during the government of Sir James Craddock, a conspiracy was formed by the Boors to murder the Moravians, and to seize upon the defenceless Hottentots. Timely information having however been sent to the Governor, due precaution was taken, and the conspirators dispersed.* Since that time the inmates have been suffered to remain in peace, although hated by the neighbouring Boors, as they prevent their exercising upon the Hottentots, the fraud and oppression which these people formerly suffered from them.

"The church, although a heavy unsightly building, with its very deep thatched roof and sharp gables, becomes deeply interesting, when filled with its attentive congregation. It is not possible to conceive more genuine and artless devotion than that which is manifested externally by the Hottentots; and we are justified in the hope, that a very large portion of them are deeply impressed with the blessed truths, which they hear from their truly pious instructors. We

* Barrow, Vol. I. p. 311.

cannot guess the heart, but if consistency of character, and a life evidently formed on true christian principles will entitle people to be considered as genuine followers of the Lord Jesus Christ, that title may safely be conferred upon them. They themselves will never claim it, but they pursue the peaceful tenor of their way, through good report, and through evil report, having apparently only one object in view, which is the faithful fulfilment of their duty to their God, and to their fellow creatures. And what but the divine blessing upon their sincere and humble endeavours to promote the happiness of their fellow creature, could give that power, authority, and stability to their society, which they evidently possess? Neither having, nor wishing for the means of coercion, their influence over their flock is founded on love; and the fear of that love being withdrawn, is the only but effectual restraint by which the Hottentot is kept from infringing the rules of the society. It would be impossible on a hasty visit to form a just estimate of these most useful missionaries. We passed some days with them, and were delighted with their truly consistent method of civilizing the Hottentots. It seemed to be their object to make them feel that they were not only rational but immortal beings; and to guide them not only to improve the blessings which God had bestowed upon them for their advantage in this world, but also to use these blessings in such a manner as might prepare them for the everlasting happiness of heaven. In this system, the first use that man is taught to make of his reasoning powers is to learn that he is a sinner, as helpless with regard to the

renovation of his soul from the state of corruption, into which for the first time he was made sensible that he had fallen, as he was in the state of savage nature, in which he had hitherto lived, to obtain the comforts and advantages possessed by the more enlightened European. In this way religion and civilization went hand in hand, and it was very remarkable that on observing a particularly neat cottage, and a well kept garden, it was almost always found to belong to the most advanced Christian; and this may in a great measure be accounted for by the unwearied patience observed by the Moravians over their charge. They are so far from being precipitate in making the Hottentots nominal Christians by the external rite of baptism, that it is possible they err on the other hand, and exact too much. If this be an error however, it is one on the safe side. But a long series of good conduct, an evident reformation from old habits, and a considerable acquirement of knowledge of the New Testament are considered indispensable before they can be baptized; and a much greater advance in Christianity is required before they can be admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

"In conversing with Mr. Lestner, the chief of the Missionary establishment, upon this subject, I learnt that even the qualifications last mentioned of an exemplary life of piety were not all that was expected from the candidate for the sacrament; but that he must, notwithstanding the most spotless character, be exposed to the lot—his name being put to into one vase, and when drawn out, a paper was drawn out of another

vase, containing either an affirmative or a negative. I put a case to Mr. Lestner, in which I supposed the candidate to have been educated under his own eye, and personally known to him; to have been from infancy most exemplary, as a child to his parents, as a servant to his master, as a companion to those around him, and, I asked, would he still be subjected to the lot? The answer was, 'Most certainly,' and the precedent of Matthias was given as a reason. It consequently happened that in some instances several negatives followed each other, but at length the affirmative came, and the candidate became a communicant. Whatever opinion may be formed of the apparently unnecessary strictness, it produced the very best effects in many instances; and could not well be abused, as the testimony of good character was necessary before the experiment of the lot could be tried, and there were therefore very few instances of unworthy members being admitted.

"The assistance and countenance the Hottentots received from the Missionaries depended much upon the grade the latter had taken as constituting the Christian, and this will readily account for the superior appearance of their dwellings.

"The service in the church was short, and very impressive, consisting of prayers, exhortations, hymns, and a sermon; and the greatest attention was observable in the congregation. Some manifested a most ardent devotion; and many undoubtedly felt it. The singing of the female Hottentots was delightful, and added powerfully to the effect produced by this view of the worship of God in the wilderness.

"The same gradation of improvement was observed in the dress of the Hottentots as was apparent in their dwellings. In the rows nearest the reading desk the females were clad in European manufactures, and displayed great neatness and cleanliness; some indeed went further, and had added what might be termed finery; but this was much discouraged by the Moravian ladies, who, while employing them in the beautiful work so well known and appreciated in Europe, taught them to consider that it should form no part of their own attire.

"On the middle benches there were mingled with an approach to the costume of the white inhabitant some remains of the sheep's skin covering of their early state, and less of cleanliness might be remarked; and on those most remote, the genuine Hottentot was seen in the habiliments of his early days.

"On the first arrival of the Hottentot at the establishment, he is provided with a piece of ground, his only claim being the recommendation of one of his countrymen; and on this spot he is left to act at perfect liberty, without either direction or restraint. He is required, as the only tenure by which he holds the property, to attend the church at stated periods, and to receive religious instruction. The Missionaries are too wise to expect that these people should instantaneously throw off their habits of indolence; they are generally certain that these will disappear, as well as the sheep's skin and the kraal, with the moral darkness which the light of the gospel will dispel; and leave them to experience gradually the change of disposition and habits which is likely

to result from the change in the mode of life. Their education is powerfully advanced and accelerated by observation, which with all savages is very acute. Man is an imitative animal, and easily induced to follow that which he sees in the conduct of those whom he is led to respect or love. Here every effort is made to give the mind a right bias; and there is no doubt that the fervent humble prayer, which is daily offered up for them by these single hearted Moravians, is accepted, and brings down many a blessing upon the early convert, who as yet is only capable of seeing the source of his progress in second causes. Habits of industry thus acquired are likely to become fixed and progressive, and are associated with all the instruction they receive, as effects proceeding from one first cause, and that cause Christianity.

"There is service in the church every evening, at which above 200 attend, but on the sabbath nearly 1200 assemble. The whole number under the care of Moravians at this time was rather more than 1300. On Mondays and Fridays they were instructed in singing. The catechism was the course of instruction for the adults. A school room had been built for the daily instruction of the children. The girls are received into this school in the morning, and the boys in the evening; they are educated upon Dr. Bell's system, and many have made very considerable progress, reading the Bible in Dutch with great fluency.

"The Missionaries are naturally very anxious that the children thus educated should settle amongst them, and see them go away with great reluctance. They

however seldom migrate, but marry at an early age, and settle under the immediate protection of their kind friends. We visited several of the cottages, which would have been admired for their neatness and cleanliness in any part of England.

"The Moravians receive all Hottentots from whatever part of the colony they may come, but admit with some jealousy such as have been long inhabitants of Cape Town; and this for a very obvious reason, as they have but too probably acquired habits of intemperance and profligacy, from which these were perhaps free in their savage state.

"The Boors make great complaints against the Moravians for encouraging the Hottentots in their disinclination to work, and in the preference they give to remaining in wretchedness and want in the neighbourhood of Genadendahl, to what they consider more useful labour upon the farms of the colony. The charge of indolence made against the Hottentots while in the service of the Boor may be admitted to a certain degree; but this must in a great measure be attributed to the treatment they receive from the Boor—where they are invariably overworked, wretchedly clad, and cruelly punished for the slightest offence, and even for no offence at all. This is a fearful weight in the scale, when the only counterpoise is a sufficiency of food. The wages rarely exceed five rix dollars a month, and this payment was often withheld on the plea of a debt, for clothes, tobacco, or spirituous liquors; by which means from utter inability to pay what is demanded, the poor Hottentot became to all intents and purposes a slave

for life; but even should he by the utmost exertion and frugality, succeed in getting rid of this debt, he might be involved in others, being accused of having lost an ox by carelessness, or by breaking a wagon by an accident over which he could have no control. Conviction soon followed accusation at the field Cornet's tribunal, and unless rescued by remonstrances from influential persons, there was little hope of their ever obtaining freedom. Dr. Philip by his arduous exertions, at length broke the neck of this most odious system of tyranny, and succeeded in placing the Hottentot in a situation nearer to that of the white colonist. But among the Boors of the Cape there are many who have dealt very differently with the Hottentot; who have been just and humane towards them, and who in consequence have had occasion to speak of them in a very different manner. Instead of denouncing the whole race as indolent, dishonest, and treacherous, they have found them active, industrious, faithful, and attached in an extraordinary degree, not only to the master and his family, but to his interest, which they hazarded their lives in defence of; as has been frequently evinced by the conduct of these people in defending their master's property or cattle from wild beasts, or from Kaffer invaders. In truth perhaps there is no description of person who has evinced more ardent gratitude and self-devotion than the Hottentot has done when under kind treatment; there was also one trait of character in itself most honourable, which was so frequently manifested as to place them very high in moral eminence, and that was their determined

adherence to truth. Colonel Graham, our companion on this occasion, assured me, that during the whole time he commanded the Hottentot corps, which was some years, he remembered very few instances in which these people had recourse to falsehood; and that even in cases, when the offence from having been often repeated, must necessarily meet with punishment, it was confessed by the culprit with the same frankness as though it had been the first offence, and the confession pleaded in the hope of forgiveness. It is painful to think how much of this native morality of character has been lost, by communication with civilized Europeans.

"I confidently believe, that were the Hottentot always treated with kindness and paid his just due, his labour would far exceed the work assigned him, and that he would be, when uncorrupted by bad example, a most valuable and attached servant. Of this there are many instances, not only in the memory, but in the actual experience of respectable persons at the Cape.

"The Hottentots are in general remarkably intelligent, and are very quick sighted in discovering the track or footsteps of wild animals; they will even trace the steps of man over wild and extensive heaths, so covered with a stunted vegetation as to leave no apparent traces. Their vision is also particularly correct and clear. These last mentioned faculties seem to be possessed in a high degree by all savages, a circumstance easily accounted for by the supposition that their faculties are sharpened by the necessity of exerting them to the utmost, in the absence of

those aids, which invention in civilized states has rendered so universal, and so indispensable.

"A Hottentot delights in the chase, a pursuit he was born to; and he is admirably adapted to it from his almost intuitive knowledge of the haunts and habits of wild animals, to whom he is a most formidable enemy.

"We have already adverted to the corps formed entirely of Hottentots, and in justice to them we should give the opinion formed of these people by General Sir James Craig, by whom they were embodied. It has already been given in the excellent and accurate work of Mr. now Sir John Barrow, but it should, whenever the Hottentot character is brought before the public, be referred to. 'Never were people more contented, or more grateful, for the treatment they now receive. We have upwards of three hundred, who have been with us nearly nine months. It is therefore with the opportunity of knowing them well that I venture to pronounce them an intelligent race of men. All who bear arms exercise well, and understand immediately and perfectly whatever they are taught to perform. Many of them speak English tolerably well. We were told that so great was their propensity to drunkenness, we should never be able to reduce them to order or discipline; and that the habit of roving was so rooted in their disposition, we must expect the whole corps would desert the moment they had received their clothing. With respect to the first, I do not find they are more given to the vice of drinking than our own people; and as to their pretended propensity to roving, that charge is fully confuted by the circumstance of only one man having left

us, since I first adopted the measure of assembling them, and he was urged to this step by having lost his firelock. Of all the qualities that can be ascribed to a Hottentot, it will be little expected that I should expatiate upon their cleanliness, and yet it is certain, that at this moment our Hottentot parade would not suffer in comparison with that of some of our regular regiments. The clothing perhaps may have suffered more than it ought to have done, in the time since it was issued to them, from their ignorance of the means of preserving it; but those articles which are capable of being kept clean by washing, together with their arms and accoutrements, which they have been taught to keep bright, are always in good order. They are now likewise cleanly in their persons; the practice of smearing themselves with grease being entirely left off. I have frequently seen them washing themselves in a rivulet when they could have in view no other object but cleanliness.'*

"The Missionaries having received many who had belonged to the corps, are very rigid in prohibiting the use of fire arms amongst the people, lest they should be led away from the habits of industry they are anxious to bring them to, by their pursuit of game.

"Besides the schools there are two workshops in which the young Hottentots learn the useful craft of the blacksmith, and the carpenter. The work done here is highly creditable to them, and were there a great demand for their labour, they would soon equal the

* General Sir James Craig's observation on Hottentots, extracted from Barrow's Travels in South Africa, vol. I. p. 372.

European artificers. Chairs, tables, bureaus, and other cabinet work, as well as cutlery of every common description is the produce of these workshops. They also build excellent wagons, and are accounted capital wheelwrights. The smith's house (a Hottentot) was in remarkable good order. They have also among them many respectable masons and thatchers. Their houses produce a very picturesque effect, as seen under the mountains, neatly white-washed. The white-wash is made by pouring boiling water upon bran, and then letting it run off upon lime.

"A very considerable business is carried on by the Missionaries, in the produce of their handicrafts, by trafficking with the interior. All implements for farm purposes are supplied by them of a good quality, and moderate prices; and the Boors of Graaf Reynet deal largely in the purchase of these articles in exchange for cattle.

"The produce of the girl's workroom is too well known and estimated in Europe to require any account of it; but the neat, cleanly, and cheerful appearance of the young female Hottentots assembled is very striking to the strangers who visit the establishment, and offers a very convincing proof of the success of the Moravians in this most benevolent undertaking.

"The Hottentots express themselves surprisingly well upon the subject of religion, and are evidently capable of much serious reflection; this the Missionaries confirmed by quoting many instances.

"The holy sacrament is administered every month; there were generally about 400 communicants, and an

individual examination takes place previously to their receiving it. The females are all dressed in white when they approach the holy table. If any of the Hottentots are known to have quarrelled, they are not permitted to communicate until they are reconciled to each other; or rather they are enjoined to stay away, which in general produces the same effect.

"It is not to be expected that these people should be without their share of vices, which are so common among all communities of their fellow creatures, and amongst others that of drunkenness has been especially charged against them, but perhaps unjustly; for what Sir James Craig says of them as a military corps, may be urged in their favour in every other situation of life in which they are found, that they are not more given to drinking than Europeans. They are in addition surrounded by temptations, as the Boors in the neighbourhood are always pressing upon them wine and brandy of a most wretched description, in payment for any service they may render them; or if by sale, at a very low price. The Hottentots have also a great temptation from the abundance of a plant called the Daka, or wild hemp, which they smoke, and which has as intoxicating an effect as ardent spirits, and may even be considered as having more deleterious effects.

"The Moravians are not only anxious to avoid the exercise of any coercion or restraint over these Hottentots, but to remove all suspicion from the minds of the Boors that the establishment derives any interest or advantage from their labour. For this reason, they are particularly careful never to employ them, without

coming to an immediate settlement, as soon as the work is performed; and they make it a rule, never to accept any presents from them, however disposed from gratitude these people might be to offer them.

"A stream winds its way through the valley in which the settlement is situated, and the Hottentots having built their houses on the higher part of the ground allotted them, carried their gardens to the banks with the view of facilitating the watering of them; but two years before our visit, a torrent from the neighbouring mountains swept away the greater part of the gardens, and their labours have since been confined to the more elevated parts of these grounds.

"The Missionaries have tried the cultivation of flax in Genadendahl, but without success. They were in hopes to have produced the material for an useful employment to the Hottentots, and there is no good reason assigned for the failure. As the Commissioner I was so convinced of the advantage which might be derived to the Naval department from the growth of hemp, that I twice imported seed from England in the hope of establishing its culture; but in both instances the seed never germinated, which I attributed to the vital principle having been destroyed in the heated hold of the vessel in which it was brought out; and before I could make a third effort, the establishment was broken up. It is very probable that further endeavours may have been subsequently made, and it is to be hoped that they have been more fortunate.

"On the 29th of November we continued our journey to the Moful Bay, the road lay through a country wild

and broken, but highly picturesque; the Swartberg and Hottentots Kloof on the left, and the valleys interspersed with numerous patches of fertile corn ground. We had to cross the river Sender End (without end) twice in the course of the day, but this is attended with no difficulty in the summer season. In the winter it is generally a furious torrent, and opportunities must be diligently sought, and readily made use of for getting over it. This river Sender End terminates among the sand-hills, through which it discharges itself into the sea.

"We arrived at six in the evening at the beautiful farm of Mr. —— in the Soctindals valley, and we were most hospitably received by that gentleman, who is highly respected throughout every part of the colony. He has brought up a large family, and his children are now settled round him, not only in comfort, but in opulence, promising him a happy old age. His house, which was originally a hospital, is still called Sicken Huis, and stands on the right bank of the Sender End river.

"It is generally observed that hospitality is the virtue most practised in the earliest stage of society, and that it declines as the conveniences of life multiply, and accommodations are provided for travellers on the road, by persons who look to them as the means of acquiring property. This is undoubtedly true, but it appears in the colony to have out-lived its term, and to continue to flourish where the absolute necessity for it has passed away; for such are the arrangements made for travelling by means of tents and beds fitted

to wagons, and the custom of making a bivouac on the open heath, that no person undertakes a journey without the means of being independent in the course of it; and should there be an invincible repugnance to passing the night without the shelter of a roof, and a sure defence against wild beasts, there are farm houses of an inferior description, where admittance might be obtained on the payment of a small sum. It is true there are not many of them, for the principle of hospitality descends to the lowest class of farmers. Arrangements however may be made of this description, so as to prevent the necessity of intruding upon the domestic privacy of respectable families. Notwithstanding this, the master of the house near which respectable travellers should find themselves, expects that they would unhesitatingly come to him; and on their doing so, evinces the utmost readiness to accommodate them. Every effort is made by the whole family to shew that their hospitality comes from the heart; and the traveller, his servants, and his horses, are liberally provided for. No matter at what hour he arrives, a sumptuous, or at least an abundant repast is prepared for him, with the best of everything the house affords, and the best bed-room for his accommodation. At whatever hour the traveller proposes to continue his journey, he is sure to find his horses and his breakfast ready for him, with warm demonstrations of friendship and invitations to come again, should he return by the same road. This was the reception and hospitality that we met with, not only from Mr. ——, but in almost every part of the country; not

always upon the scale of comfort which we experienced here, but with the warmest welcome according to the means possessed of offering it.

"On the 29th we continued our route, and as the day's journey was to be a very long one, Mr. —— kindly supplied us with a span of oxen to take the wagon as far as the Zout kraal, by which our horses were greatly spared. We arrived about two o'clock on the banks of the Salt lake, and dined on its banks. The water in this lake is too salt for use; and that which we procured from an adjacent farm was so brackish as to be scarcely drinkable; but this quality in water is by no means objectionable to those who are accustomed to it; on the contrary, persons visiting Cape Town from these districts have been known to put salt to the water to render it palatable before they could drink it.

"We traversed extensive plains this day, and saw abundance of game, consisting of stein bocks, riebocks, partridges, pavus, koar hens, &c. the two last a species of the bustard, and very good eating, resembling the Turkey in size, but of a fine wild flavour. We arrived in the evening at the extensive farm of Mr. Odendals, a most respectable and hospitable gentleman, whose estate lies on the western side of the Potteberg, a minor range of hills diverging from the Swartberg, and terminating near the S.E. coast.

"We were here received with the utmost hospitality, and every provision made for our comfort, not only for the night, but for the day and night following, as the day of our arrival was Saturday. We were delighted with the manner in which the family passed the sab-

bath, no church being within many miles of them. Mr. Odendals read the service to his household in the great hall, which appeared to be the constant practice. He had five children who bid fair to be a comfort to him.

"The farm was a very extensive and most productive one, and had it been cultivated to its full extent, would have yielded a very large supply of grain for the colonial market; but the want of vent for the produce prevented this being done. The distance from the farm to Cape Town required four days to perform it, and a wagon with two men, or a man and a boy, with sixteen oxen, could only take one load of corn, which taking the average prices of grain whilst I was residing at the Cape, may be taken at about sixty rix dollars, or £6 sterling, by far too small a sum to remunerate the farmer for his seed, his labour, the rent of his land, and the absence of his people, oxen and wagon nine days, independent of the probable loss of one or more oxen on the road, and the wear and tear of the wagon. It is true they brought back from Cape Town the articles of European produce required for the consumption of the family, but this was to a very small amount.

"What renders this want of a market more surprising is, that on the other side of the Potteberg, at a distance of only a few hours from this farm, was a river, with a safe port at its entrance, into which vessels of from 70 to 100 tons might enter with safety, and receive cargoes of grain, or other rural produce, lying in perfect security during the whole of the sum-

mer, and within two days' sail of Simon's Bay or Table Bay. Had a coasting trade existed, and a magazine been erected at the mouth of the Bride River, this district might have furnished a very large supply of grain ; and had similar measures been adopted in other parts of the colony where the same advantages existed, not only would this valuable possession of Great Britain have abounded with corn for its own consumption, but it might have had a valuable article of export even to the mother country. It is to be hoped that British enterprize may before this time have laid the foundation of a very extensive coasting trade, which shall at once be the means of bringing into cultivation much valuable land now entirely neglected ; whilst it supplies the interior of the colony with every article of European manufacture, of which it stands in need, at a moderate price. It may not be amiss to give here, by anticipation, a calculation which I made some weeks afterwards at George, when conversing with the leading inhabitants upon the subject of a coasting trade as indispensable to the prosperity of this new town.

"A merchant of George is supposed to order a ton of goods, either Manchester, or Birmingham, or Sheffield, (as it may be) from England, for the purpose of supplying the wants of his neighbourhood. These goods are accordingly shipped to his consignment in London, and arrive at the Cape in the course of ten or twelve weeks afterwards, paying a freight to the Cape of £1 10s. per ton. These goods have now to be carried by land to the town of George, a distance of scarcely two hundred miles from Cape Town, and for

the freight for this distance, not less than the sum of £9 sterling must be paid, and enormous as this sum must appear, it cannot be done for less, as the following calculation will shew.

"To bring one ton of goods from Cape Town to George would require one man, one boy, one wagon, and sixteen oxen, and the freight charged by the farmer, is five rix dollars per cwt., or one hundred rix dollars for the ton.

"A whole month is required for the journey, including the days of departure and arrival, and one day loading the wagon, in Cape Town, at little more than three rix dollars per day.

"But under the supposition that he might carry a load of the produce of his farm, say corn to Cape Town, the highest price of which in the market would be one hundred rix dollars, he could only estimate the freight at ten rix dollars at the utmost, making one hundred and ten rix dollars for freight going and returning.

"The least which can be set off against this profit would be—

	R.	d.	
The wages of the man and boy during the month	20	0	0
The repairs of the wagon after the journey	20	0	0
The loss of one ox—but this is a very low average, as they frequently lose many	30	0	0
	70	0	0
Leaving a balance to the farmer, without any mention being made for the loss of the labour of his oxen on the farm	30	0	0
	100	0	0

or about 2s. sterling per day.

"Mr. Odendals assured me that he could afford to deliver 7000 muids of grain to a vessel at the mouth of the Bride River, at thirty rix dollars per load under the current price in Cape Town; and that were the means of exportation furnished to him by the river, the quantity of grain might be increased to a very great amount. Here would be a freight for a schooner, a small vessel of seventy tons, of £210 sterling, to be divided as profit between the merchant and the owner of the vessel, for a voyage that might be performed in a week, but which upon a fair average of winter and summer, might be certainly done eight times in the year; but in all probability twice that number of voyages might be performed. In addition to this freight, another sum might be added for that of European manufactures carried back, in exchange for the corn, and nearly equal in amount to the former. Iron, cutlery of all sorts, agricultural tools, brandy, tea, coffee, sugar, &c. &c. are in great demand in the interior, and having to pay the heavy land carriage already mentioned, reach the inland consumer at an enormous price.

"Mr. Odendals appeared to be very happy in his family, and much respected and beloved by his slaves. A very pleasing practice was observed in his house, which was, that of all the servants, slaves as well as others, coming in, in succession in the morning, to wish their master a good day. This was considered as a family muster.

"The garden here would probably have been very productive, had it been more sheltered from the S. E.

winds, which might easily have been done, many shrubs such as the Rhinoceros bush, and many Proteas, braving its violence; under the lee of which the stunted oak, such as many of the vineyards in the Cape district are sheltered by, might be made to grow. The water is generally brackish through the extensive plains at the foot of the Potteberg; a quality for which it is not disrelished by the inhabitants, however objectionable to strangers. A beautiful specimen of the wild Jessamine was seen here, armed with thorns as sharp as those of the Mimosa.

"The roads in the neighbourhood are generally good, that from Sickenhuis to this place was excellent, running over level ironstone; and but for the ravines by which it was so frequently intercepted, might have been travelled upon at as great a rate as the best roads in England; and being formed on a hard surface, never wanted repair, in fact the only labour required in making them was to clear away the heath.

"On Monday, Dec. 1st, it rained too hard during the early part of the day for our party to begin their journey; but in the afternoon the weather clearing, our kind host insisted upon driving us in his wagon to Cape Lagullos. The road lay over a very extensive plain, capable of being made very productive in corn. In the neighbourhood of the Recty Lake the ground is so frequently flooded, that it produces only a rank coarse grass. There are many pools in the course of the Kleine River, called by the inhabitants "Sea cow holes," from the resemblance to the haunts of these animals in the eastern parts of the colony, and proba-

bly from their having been found here in the earlier part of the settlement; tradition being very common here of the country having been infested with all descriptions of wild animals, and particularly lions and buffalos, which are now rarely seen to the westward of the Gauritz River.

"From the Recty Lake a quantity of salt is collected every year, as much as 3000 muids. The plain formerly afforded excellent pasturage for horses, but the grass having become coarse, and rank, the value of the property has much diminished. The Boors on the small farms which are dispersed about this extensive tract of land, are of an athletic make, but of most indolent habits, as is evident from the wretched appearance of their farms and all around them. Their chief occupation is hunting, and here, and here only, their energies seem to be aroused; but the neglect of their farms has already been accounted for, in the want of a market for their produce. A little corn is sufficient for the consumption of their families, and as they have abundance of sheep, and plenty of game at hand, they want but little besides clothing and brandy, which they procure from Cape Town in exchange for what they send thither.

"On the evening of this day we reached Recty, a small horse farm, situated on the eastern side of a Lake, about seven miles from Cape Lagullos, a wretched hovel in a most dilapidated state, and bearing evident marks of the absence of its master. From the failure of the grass already alluded to, but few horses are used here. We passed the night with as much comfort as the

means offered us would admit of; but to travellers of cheerful disposition, good health and appetite, with wagons so provided, as to set scarcity at defiance, we did not suffer much; there was during the night a severe storm of thunder and lightning.

"On the following day we set out for Cape Lagullos, but found the Boor who conducted us, entirely mistaken as to the point they called the Cape; upon reaching it, another was seen bearing S.W. by W. from it, consequently further to the southward; and having got to this point, another appeared, at the distance of five or six miles, bearing W.S.W., which was probably the real Cape. The wrecks of many vessels were lying on the part of the shore we visited, which had been lost in the course of the preceding thirty years. One of the ships lost here a few years before, had a cargo of slaves, who having gained their liberty, marched up the country in a body, but they were too dangerous at liberty, and too useful in bondage, to be allowed to enjoy their freedom any length of time. An old woman then living in the house now occupied by Mr. Odendal's, took great credit to herself, for having defended it against these invaders, and for being the cause of their being finally secured.

"At four p.m. on the 2nd, we continued our journey, crossing the Carse River, on our way to Morkels, a farm on the River, called a horse farm: there is another near it, but both evincing at this period a want of capital. Morkels is a valuable property, a good dwelling house, spacious out-buildings, capacious stables and barns, but in a ruinous state for want of repair, the

water here is excessively brackish, so much so, as to be scarcely drinkable to an European.

"We met here at dinner with young Schwartz, the person who first discovered the wreck of the unfortunate Arniston, a large East Indiaman, which was lost upon Cape Lagullos in June, 1815. He gave us a very interesting and most affecting account of the awful scene, which came suddenly before him as he rode down to the beach. The shore was covered with wreck of every description, masts, sails, timber, and planks, hove high upon the beach, which was strewed with dead bodies. The fatal event had taken place some days, as he learnt from the survivors. Six men whom he found in a small cavern on the coast, impressed with the idea that the ship had passed the Cape of Good Hope, and that she had been wrecked to the westward of it, had walked along the beach for two days, expecting every moment to see the Table Mountain, but at the end of that time were stopped by the Bride River, which convinced them of their error, and they had to retrace their steps to the wreck, which they reached at the end of the fourth day, worne out with fatigue and hunger, having only subsisted upon the shell fish they found on the coast. Their first object was to bury as many of of their dead as they could, during the two days previously to their being discovered by Mr. Schwartz; they pointed out to him particularly the spot in which they had laid the *four children* of Colonel Giels, of the 72nd Regiment, who had been sent home as passengers in the Arniston, under the care of Lord and Lady Molesworth, who also perished in her. These poor fellows

had evidently taken a very deep interest in the fate of these children, as it was the only grave which they distinctly marked. They had of course procured some salt provisions from the wreck, which had been washed ashore, but every thing else was spoiled by the salt water. They were also enabled to clothe themselves from the raiment of their unfortunate shipmates. They were afterwards most hospitably and kindly treated by the farmer, and having been sent to the nearest Magistrate, gave the deposition of which the following is a copy, and which was forwarded to the Commissioner of His Majesty's Dock Yard, a few days afterwards.

"'A narrative from the surviving crew, relating to the loss of the Arniston, Transport, wrecked near Cape Lagullos, on the evening of the 30th of May, 1815.

"'Charles Stewart Scott, late carpenter's mate of the Arniston, Transport, and others, assert to the best of their knowledge, that she sailed from Point de Galle on or about the 4th of April, under convoy of H.M.S. Africaine, and the Victor Brig, with six Indiamen. About the 26th of May parted company from the convoy, owing to stress of weather, having blown away most of her sails; other sails were then bent, but the weather continued very squally, with a heavy sea. On the 29th, about seven a.m. the land was discovered right ahead, bearing about N. by W. a long distance off, the wind then S.S.E. about half-past four p.m. still blowing very strong, hauled to the wind on the larboard tack, under a close reefed maintopsail, and stood on till half-past two a.m. on the 30th; then supposing the land seen was near Table bay, the hands were turned up,

bore up steering N.W. and set the foresail, intending to run for St. Helena; continued on till 10 a.m. when the land was again discovered nearly ahead, turned the hands up, and hauled the ship close to the wind on the larboard tack, still blowing very hard, made all sail, having topsails and courses set, stood on till near noon, when breakers were discovered on the lee-bow, wore ship and hauled to the wind on the other tack; stood on till 2 p.m. then wore, and hauled to the wind on the larboard tack, continuing on till near 4 o'clock, when breakers were seen, called Lagullos Reef, which we could not weather on either tack, being completely embayed; clewed up the sails and cut away three anchors, the two bower cables parted shortly after, when Lieutenant Brice, agent for transports, recommended the captain to cut the sheet cable, and run the ship on shore, as the only chance of saving the people's lives. The cable was then cut, and the ship put before the wind, in about eight minutes after she struck forward, the ship heeling to windward; cut away the guns in order to heel her the other way, but which could not be effected, and she soon began to break up. About eight o'clock the masts went, and the ship in a very short time was quite in pieces; many peeple were drowned below in consequence of her heeling to windward, and others clung to the wreck, endeavouring to reach the shore about half a mile distant. Out of the whole crew, consisting of near 350 persons, only six men reached the shore with great difficulty upon planks, being much bruised by the wreck and surf, which was very high. At daylight the next morning the stern post was the only part of the ship to

be seen, the beach was covered with wreck, stores, &c. and a number of dead bodies, which were buried by the survivors. Amongst these were Lord and Lady Molesworth, the agent, the captain, and some children. On the next day, the 1st of June, considering ourselves to the westward of Cape Point, it was agreed to coast the beach to the eastward, which we continued to do for four days and a half, subsisting on shell fish from off the rocks, but fearing we had taken a wrong direction, we returned to the wreck, and accomplished it in three days and a half, where we remained six days subsisting chiefly on a cask of oatmeal, which had been driven on shore; by drying it in the sun, we experienced great relief. The pinnace having been driven on shore bilged, we proposed to repair it in the best manner circumstances would allow, and coast along shore. At that time, the 14th of June, being at work on the boat, we were fortunately discovered by a farmer's son, John Schwartz, who was out shooting, and humanely carried by him to his father's house, where we remained with every comfort he could afford us for a week, and then set off for Cape town, where we arrived on Monday evening, the 26th of June.

"Before we left the country we were informed that three hundred and thirty-one bodies thrown on shore, had been interred near the beach.

"Signed,

"CHARLES STEWART SCOTT, and party."

"This declaration was made before me this day at

Cape Town, the 27th day of June, 1815, of which this is a copy.

J. MERES,

"Lieutenant R.N. Resident Agent for Transports."

A List of Officers and Passengers, as far as can be collected from the survivors, who perished on board the Arniston Transport, the 30th of May, 1815.

Lieutenant Brice, R.N. Agent.
Captain George Simpson.
1st Mate, Thomas Hall.
2nd Mate, William Young.
3rd Mate, William Gibbs.
4th Mate, —— Robinson.
Doctor, —— Gunter.
Boatswain, John Barrett.
Carpenter, John Finley.
Gunner, Thomas Gowan.

SURVIVORS.

Charles Stewart Scott, (Captain's Mate).
Philip Shea,
Wm. Drummond,
Wm. Fish,
Thos. Mansfield,
John Lewis,
} Seamen.

PASSENGERS.

Lord and Lady Molesworth, with a boy aged 7 years old under their care.
Four children—boys belonging to an officer of the 73 Regt. at Columbo.
Captain Stoddart, (Royal Scots).
Mrs. James, with two children, belonging to Point de Galle.
Mrs. Taylor, Officer's Widow.
Miss Twisleton, daughter of the Clergyman at Columbo.
Mr. Gordon, Commissary, and son, about five years old.
Lieutenant Callender, 19th Regiment.

Invalids from the 19th, 22nd, 56th, 69th, 84th, and Royal Scots Regiments; and near 100 seamen from the different men of war in India, with 14 women, including passengers, and 25 children, in the whole about 350 people.

N.B. Captain Whyms of the army died on board six weeks after leaving Ceylon.

"On the morning of the 3rd December, anxious to visit the spot become so deeply interesting, from the preceding melancholy history, our party proceeded to the place, and arrived there at half-past nine, a.m. It was indeed an awful scene, although much of the horror had been removed by the burial of the dead. Every object was calculated to throw a deep and solemn gloom over the mind. The wreck of the ship lay scattered in great fragments in every direction on the beach, and the remains of the unhappy sufferers were indicated by pieces of plank and timber, which had been placed in an upright position over them; 350 bodies had been washed on shore.

"It may be easier to conceive than to describe the feelings excited in our minds at the awful scene which here presented itself. The coast and surrounding country was desolate in the extreme. The day being cloudy, not a sunbeam gleamed over it; there was little wind, and the surf rolled sullenly along the shore, with a hollow and lugubrious roar, whilst every object told the tale of woe. A monument had been raised by the direction of Colonel Giels over the grave where his children were deposited, by an artificer sent from Cape Town; its bright white appearance contrasted with the dark clouds, and the still darker tablet on

which the fatal event was recorded, produced an indescribable effect upon the eye, unprepared for such an object.

"Having remained some time meditating upon this mournful scene, our party pursued their journey over a wide sandy plain towards the Hope, an Estate belonging to Mr. Lawrence Cloete, and appropriated to the breeding of sheep. In crossing these plains, and far distant from the coast, even many miles, we observed pieces of the wreck of the Arniston, which had been evidently dropped from wagons employed in carrying away timber from the beach, and it did at the moment occur to me, that the notions respecting the receding of the ocean which has occupied so many pens, and so many pages, and concerning which so much has been written in reference to this part of the world in particular, might have been accounted for by the object before us. Had a strong S.E. wind taken place subsequent to these remarkable pieces being dropped from the wagons, (they were shot-racks), they would have been forthwith covered deep in sand; and had they been found a century afterwards they would have excited the same suggestion, that the sea had formerly covered this place also.

"From an attentive observation of every part of the coast of this colony, I am much more inclined to adopt Sir John Barrow's theory of the sea gaining, rather than of its receding; and the observations he makes upon the subject, (vol. i. p. 6,) appear very satisfactory; but I felt at the same time convinced, that the Cape

flat, now an immense sandy plain, covered with shrubs and heath was, perhaps ever since the commencement of the Christian era, a channel between the Table mountain, then an Island, and the main land. Sir John Barrow grounds his opinion upon the effects produced by the accumulation of sand, during the period of nearly seven years that he was in the country, of which some very striking instances will be given in the course of this narrative. But lest the assertion may appear a startling one, it may be as well even in this place to shew on what grounds he founded the supposition.

"It is well known that the S.E. winds blow during a great part of the year, and sometimes with great violence for many days together. A heavy sea consequently rolls in upon every part of the southern coast, bringing with it an immense quantity of sand, which may have been forming a ridge of considerable elevation above high water mark. As the tide recedes, the sand dries, and is taken up by the wind, and carried in a continued and dense stream into the interior, where it is deposited among the shrubs, and soon covers them. A reference to those who have land near the coast, and even at some miles distant from it, will give a melancholy confirmation of this fact, and shew that much of their land has been entirely ruined by the accumulation of sand. During the winter months when the N.W. winds prevail they are in general accompanied by rain, and the sand when wet is not liable to be taken up by the wind and

carried back again: and this shews how the sand hills accumulate, and how soon not only shrubs, but trees may be overwhelmed with sand.

"Our party arrived at the Hope in the afternoon of the 3rd. The house is small but very commodious, and fitted up with every attention to comfort and even luxury. It is situated on the eastern bank of an extensive salt lake, into which the little salt river carries its waters; there is no visible outlet, but they doubtless pass through the surrounding sands.

"Great quantities of game abound in this neighbourhood, and several ostriches were seen in the day's journey, rising from the heath on the approach of the wagons, and striding towards the interior with most extraordinary velocity.

"Immense quantities of corn were once grown in this neighbourhood, but a decided and very reasonable preference was given by our host to sheep and horses. Of the former he has a very large flock, with a valuable collection of merinos. It is considered that the wool of the fourth cross is nearly equal to the Spanish original. It is surprising, considering the number of hyenas and wolves, with which this part of the colony abounds, that so little injury is experienced in the sheep-folds, but the hyena and the wolf seldom attack cattle or sheep in an enclosure, however simple and defenceless it may be.

"There are no trees near the house, but several beautifully wooded glens or ravines running down to the lake.

"On the 5th December, at six, a.m. we left the Hope

having been furnished with a span of oxen to ascend the Potteberg, a steep and rugged road, but one which might with care be greatly improved. From the summit of the hill we had a splendid view of the Sout valley, and the adjacent plains, with an extensive line of sea coast, terminating at Cape Lagullos to the S.W. The country although wild and uncultivated, was picturesque, and much enlivened, by the profusion and variety of the shrubs and heaths with which it was covered in all the brilliancy of flower. Many Piebocks were seen on ascending the Potteberg, and some Partridges. We stopped in the course of the morning at the house of the field Cornet; it lies in the descent of the Potteberg, and he is a most respectable man, with a large family, cultivating an extensive corn farm. He was suffering severely from a whitloe, which had begun on the finger, but its effects threatened the loss of his arm. The greatest inconvenience experienced by the colonists in the interior is the want of surgical assistance; though they are sufficiently well instructed in medical remedies, to apply them with tolerable success.

"After some repose at this place, we proceeded on our way to the Bride River, but having mistaken the road we had a long and very fatiguing journey, and having reached a part of the river where no means existed for crossing, we had to retrace our steps nearly half way over a hilly rugged road, and did not arrive at the ferry at Guillenpuis until nearly sunset. The country we had passed through this day was of an extraordinary description. The prospect before us as we left the

Potteberg was that of a gently undulating surface, covered with a great variety of shrubs and aloes; but as we proceeded we found it frequently intersected by deep and precipitous ravines, and which could only be passed by means of very winding roads down the steep slaty sides. The ascent from these occasioned great labour to the cattle. The Bride River as seen from the heights on its right bank had a most picturesque appearance from its windings, making a distance between two places along its banks of two hours, when a straight road between them, had such existed, would not have required more than half an hour. Corn might be grown to an immense amount near this river, as was evident by what was seen growing on the few spots which were cultivated, but the population is very scanty, and labour very difficult to procure. It was said that black cattle would thrive greatly on these plains, but that there was something in the pasturage generally destructive to sheep, of which the inhabitants complained of having lost great numbers, and no longer ventured to keep more than they required for their immediate consumption.

"As it was too late to get the wagons over that evening, which requires a tedious process, they were unloaded and the baggage taken over in a small boat, which landed us at a small but commodious farm house on the opposite bank, where we received a most hospitable welcome; and the inmates, though very limited in their circumstances, made every effort to accommodate us, giving up the best part of the house to our use,

and supplying us with fish, fowls, and fresh eggs, for which they positively refused to receive payment.

"The small boat, not more than twelve feet in length, returned for the horses, which swam over, having their heads tied up to the gunwale of the boat, two at each side. It consequently required three trips to get over the eight wagon and four saddle horses. Much difficulty was experienced, and time lost in getting them all to take the water. Some of them having been accustomed to it, took their stations on each side of the boat at once, whilst others could scarcely be brought to the water's edge; but example here, as in most other cases, had at length its influence, they reached the other side in safety and ease, and were comfortably accommodated in the farm stables. At daylight in the morning we rose, in order to see the process of getting the wagon over. The river at this place might be about one hundred and fifty yards across, and perhaps two fathoms deep, the depth however was of no consequence. A large empty leaguer well bunged up, was placed in the wagon, and lashed to the framework at the bottom, a line was then brought from the opposite shore, and made fast to it, it was then pushed into the water, and hauled over to the other side without any difficulty, by two or three men; when a pair of horses were ready to receive it, and draw it out of the stream.

"The Bride River is navigable from this place to its mouth, for vessels of thirty or forty tons. The face of the country to the eastward, is wild and precipitous to

a degree surpassing what we have hitherto seen; so much so as to wear the appearance of having been convulsed by earthquake. It is at the same time very fertile, even to the summit of the hills, being covered with corn wherever the cultivator thought proper to sow it.

"The scenery amidst the windings of the Bride River was most strikingly picturesque; the various tints which the mimosa, the aloe, the milkwood, and the protea, gave to the landscape, produced a very splendid effect.

"At eleven, on the 8th December, we arrived at Rhinoster Fonteyne, a grazing and breeding farm (for horses) on the banks of the Bride River, near its mouth. The view to the westward was superb. We rode down to the entrance of the river, and found a capacious harbour for small craft, formed by a spit of sand running out from the eastern shore. The harbour here formed is very capacious, its breadth securing the vessels which might be lying there in the winter, against the effect of the torrents rushing from the mountains. Here a depôt should be made of corn, wine, flax, linseed, and oil, in readiness to ship for the capital, on board any vessels which might be sent for the purpose. They might also take on board large quantities of thorn bark for tanning; the gana, a shrub used in making soap; tobacco; wool of an excellent quality from the Merino sheep; the inspissated juice of the aloe, which may be had in large quantities; and many articles of traffic, not only for home consumption in the Cape district, but also as articles for exportation, the want of which was so severely felt, that the exchange for bills

upon England, which were considered at par at 125, rose in the year 1822 to more than 200.

"A constant trade might thus be carried on, and if the resources of the colony were by such means brought into action, there is little doubt but the export trade would be very considerable, even in corn.

"Mr. Van Rennen, the owner of this farm, having purchased the famous English stallion, Euryalus, had greatly improved his breed of horses, which rose in value, and were generally sold at high prices from 500 to 1000 rix dollars. There were upon the farm 300 cows, and yet neither butter nor cheese were made, beyond what was required for the use of the family, and this for want of an outlet. It was stated that 1500 sheep were shorne annually upon this farm; that the wool was sold in Cape Town for two rix dollars the pound, and that the fleeces average two pounds each. Mr. Van Rennen has taken the precaution of enclosing and covering in a pool, or rather an extensive well in his grazing ground, by which he ensures a constant supply of water in the hottest seasons. It not only prevents the rapid evaporation, which would be caused by the heat of the sun, but also prevents the cattle from wallowing and trampling upon the borders of the pool. The want of water is the cause of the greatest suffering in every part of the colony. Great improvidence has been manifested in the distribution of the different farms by the Government, and this shews the expediency of being liberal in the remuneration of talented and upright Surveyors in all new settlements, and in preventing a monopoly of the streams; from which

single cause it frequently happens that extensive tracts of valuable land may be thrown out of cultivation. From the steep descent of the beds of the rivers the waters soon run off; but much might, nevertheless, be done by irrigation and by lateral cuts. The country however must become much more populous before such improvements can be looked for.

"On the 8th, we left Rhinoster Fonteyne in Mr. Van Rennen's wagon, which he had kindly lent us in order that we might send off our own, and the saddle horses at a very early hour; and that the horses might be refreshed before they were required for the remainder of the day's journey, which was to be a very long one. We traversed an immense plain near fifteen miles in breadth, cultivated in patches which produced corn in abundance, and stretching to a great extent from the sea to the foot of the Swartberg. The mountains had continued to bound the prospect upon the left, from the time we had passed Hottentot Holland's Kloof, and were seen running on to the north-east, lost in the most remote distance. The vallies and ravines, were generally dark with the woods springing up in the dark alluvial soil which was washed down by the wintry rains. In the course of this day, we arrived at Duivenhock, where the scenery was truly beautiful; and here we found a most respectable and hospitable family, in a substantial and commodious cottage, with every thing wearing the appearance of industry and gradual improvement. After receiving refreshment here, we proceeded over an open and generally level country to the Kaffer Kuyl

River ; we saw abundance of game in crossing it. The Kaffer Kuyl is a considerable stream running with rapidity from the mountains towards the sea. Much corn is grown near to its banks, and two respectable looking farms lie at a small distance from each other. This river is not capable of being made navigable, having an irregular and rocky bed, and in the rainy seasons it becomes an impetuous torrent. In the evening, we arrived at a farm belonging to Mr. La Grange, on the high road from Cape Town to Mossul Bay ; it is situated on a level plateau at a considerable height above the level of the sea. The country about it is generally undulating, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the river, the banks of which are very steep and rugged. The Soetmelks River runs very near this farm ; a great number of horses are bred here and some cattle.

"Having passed the night with great comfort here, we pursued our journey towards the Gauritz River, over a beautifully variegated country. The mimosa of the most lively and refreshing green was strikingly contrasted with the generally parched and arid appearance of the soil, but this was also frequently relieved by the brilliancy of patches of flowering shrubs of the most lively hues, approaching even to gaudiness, if such a term can be applied to the objects of creation ; whilethe aloes, scattered over thecountry in boundless profusion, gave finishing touches to the landscape, and produced the happiest effect. The whole of the tract we passed over this day appeared to be fit for cultiva-

tion, capable of producing in abundance all the necessaries of life, and wherever industry had been employed, it was apparently crowned with success.

"This day, the 9th day of December, was the hottest we had experienced, the thermometer was at 99 in the interior of the wagon. The wind from the north felt as though it came from a furnace; not a cloud was to be seen, except a few of a white and fleecy description, which were gathering over the summit of the Swartberg; and from their appearance, Colonel Graham, who had been long an observer of the changes of the weather in this country, at once predicted a thunder storm; and his conjectures were accurate, for in less than three hours a most violent storm of wind and rain, with tremendous thunder and vivid lightning, came on, and lasted about two hours. We had, providentially, reached the Gauritz River, and crossed it before the storm came on, and were comfortably sheltered at the house of Esaias Miers, on the left bank. He was a kind and hospitable man; and, with his excellent wife, gave every accommodation in their power to offer. With their assistance, and that of our own cook, we soon procured an excellent dinner. In about two hours the weather cleared up, and gave us a delightful evening for pursuing our journey.

"The banks of the Gauritz are extremely precipitate, and scarcely less than two hundred feet in height; the road, as may be supposed, is very steep, but with the precaution of locking both the hind wheels of the wagon, is not dangerous. The difficulty of ascending is very great. The country people in general travel with two

or three wagons in company, for the purpose of assisting each other in getting over these places, which to one team of oxen would be insurmountable. This forms one of the most animating and picturesque scenes imaginable. I have already adverted to it, but to see the wagons ascending from the bed of Gauritz, up a broken road which in other countries would be deemed impracticable, with a long line of, in some instances, thirty-six oxen, through the wildest scenery imaginable, the shouting of the drivers, the echoes occasioned by the cracking of their huge whips, and the passengers in every direction climbing amongst the rocks in pursuit of the nearest way to the summit of the ridge, altogether produces an effect which is indescribable, and of a peculiarly animating character.

"We had in this place an additional proof of what industry and perseverance can perform in overcoming existing difficulties, but it is certainly 'taking the bull by the horns.' A small portion of labour applied by legislative investments would soon render these roads practicable for the wagon and its own team, without any of the detention and risk of loss of oxen, and damage to the vehicle which is now constantly experienced; and this being the great road to immense forests in Uitenhage, and to the district of George, it seems the more extraordinary that some exertion had not long before been made by the Colonial Government. In many cases we observed that the road might have been rendered much easier, and consequently safer, and more expeditious, by a little more detour being made in it; but when even it was at all possible, the straight

line was most inflexibly adhered to. It was frequently seen that the ruts of wheels were passing over a stone of two or three feet in height, where a deviation of as many yards would have avoided it. But it was a road which the grandfather had gone, and was therefore most dutifully followed by his descendants.

"The Gauritz is frequently in the rainy season a formidable torrent, and impassable for days together, at which time a most singular and picturesque scene presents itself, from the groups of wagons and travellers collected on each bank, forming as it were extensive encampments, their numerous spans of horses and oxen grazing on the steep declivities of the bank, where any food can be found for them, or outspanned on the heights for the purpose of grazing. To these are added on the left bank very large droves of cattle and flocks of sheep, waiting for the water to subside, that they may continue their way to the Cape Town market. The Boors and their Hottentots enjoy these bivouacs much, as they pass the time of their detention in shooting, and the neighbourhood is well supplied with game; nor are the females of the party without their share in the general excitement, as they have the enjoyment of society from which they are precluded in their solitary farms; and as their wagons form very commodious tents, they experience but little more discomfort than in their cots at home, where in many cases the accommodations are hardly superior. To add to the animation of the scene, their little fires blazing in all directions, and the column of blue smoke ascending along the hills, and taking from them the monotony of

feature by giving an appearance of distance to those parts dimly seen, increases the general effect of the picture.

"The Gauritz is in no part navigable, from the broken and rocky nature of its bed, and no boats are consequently to be found upon it Beneath the cliff on the right bank was a remarkable plateau, enclosed in a bend of the winding of the banks, quite level, and of considerable extent, and about twenty feet above the bed of the river. At the first view it appeared well calculated for the site of a village, but in winter it is frequently laid under water; and logs of timber and drift wood scattered over it shewed this to have been recently the case.

"Several wagons laden with timber were met with in the course of this day, on their way to Cape Town, carrying many large yellow-wood beams for building, and logs for converting into planks, also fellies for wheels, and treenails for the repair of ships. It may easily be conceived under what amazing disadvantages this traffic is carried on between the forest and the capital, a distance little short of two hundred miles, and the road lying nearly along the coast. It can be shewn that plank from Norway and from America may be brought into the market at a rate which competes with this which is grown in the colony; but the injury is not confined to the high price of this indispensable commodity. These journeys for the conveyance of timber depopulate the whole country in the neighbourhood of the forest. The labourers and the cattle are constantly on the road; and not unfrequently the farmer and his family

seize the opportunity, in order to have their frolic, leaving the cows, the young stock, and the crops to the care of an aged female Hottentot, while every other part of the establishment follows the wagon. Should the scanty portion of grain which he has sown fail, in consequence of his absence, the family have a resource; they can live entirely upon mutton, and game, and tea, and brandy; the two latter articles being never forgotten in the return cargo. The want of hands in the different farms is an universal complaint; and is the only cause that can be assigned, why the immense tracts of fertile land are uncultivated; but the reason is here at once given. The whole population is employed in taking materials for building to Cape Town; while a few hundred hands employed in conducting a coasting trade would effect more completely all that is to be done; and leave the farmers and the farm servants, undisturbed in their rural occupations; ensuring to the former a most liberal return of whatever the ground would produce, while industrious habits would take the place of that wandering, unsettled, and indolent disposition for which the Cape Boor is so remarkable.

"The abundance of all the essentials of life which a kind Providence has showered down on this favoured country, is another great cause of the little advance its inhabitants make in improvement, which is so obvious in most parts of the interior. The want of food is unknown amongst them, either for man or beast; and other wants are easily provided for. Houses built of clay and thatched with reeds are readily constructed; the wood work necessary for doors, windows, and raf-

ters, is easily obtained from the nearest Bosch, as the forest is called; and converted by the roughest tools in such a way as may answer the purpose. The furniture of many of the houses is confined to the frames of a bedstead or two, (the sacking for which is formed of thongs of raw hide) and a large chest serving at once for a store closet and a table. Clothing is easily made from the sheep-skin tanned or untanned; and a few loads of wood or aloes carried to Cape Town market, will procure them brandy and tea, their principal luxuries, and such European manufactures as they may be tempted to indulge in, such as printed calicos, and linen. These journies, as we have shewn, are attended with no other expense or loss than the neglect of their farms. The covered wagon is their dwelling house, and the sleeping apartment for the master and mistress; the children and slaves sleeping under them in dry weather. The journey is divided into schoffs, or distances, calculated from one grazing place to another, called "Out-span" places; these are six, eight, or ten hours from each other, as they happen to be. In the more sandy and arid parts of the colony the schoffs are regulated by the springs of water. The march is generally performed by night in summer, in order to avoid the heat of the sun. As soon as they reach the out-span place, the oxen are unyoked, and turned out to graze. If they have horses, they are knee haltered, by the halter being tied to the fore leg, and so short that when the head of the animal is elevated, his leg is lifted from the ground, and he can only go upon three legs, which ensures his being caught when

wanted. In these wild parts of the colony there is little fear of the cattle straying, for they are too much in fear of wild beasts to wander far from protection; and it was very remarkable that saddle horses, which if turned out near the Cape, would be very difficult to catch, will, in the interior, when far from any inhabited place, keep close to the owner, when leading them by the bridle, or if left to themselves.

"As soon as the horses and oxen are turned out, the domestic arrangements begin; fires are lighted, sheep or fowls are killed, and cooking proceeds with great energy. It may be that a buck is brought in, which makes the feast a sumptuous one, in which all are equally interested. The driver and leaders of the oxen are no sooner off duty than they betake themselves to sleep, and only awake for their food, and then sleep again. After the meal, the Siesta becomes general, and lasts till the preparation signal is given for resuming the journey, when all again is bustle; the cattle are yoked, the wagons packed, and the cracking of the huge whips again announces that they are in motion. Such is nearly the history of every day, and of the whole journey, until they reach the immediate vicinity of the capital, when they become restrained by the usages of more civilized life, a fetter which is severely felt by all, bipeds as well as quadrupeds. There are few instances of these travellers being attacked in their night marches by the wild beasts, which infest so many parts of the interior of the colony. The feline species are in general as cowardly as ferocious, and are scared by the noise and the

number of the caravans, which of course is not diminished on this account.

"If stationary, in the night the cattle are kept tied to the wagons, and large fires kept burning round the little encampment. In the preceding year, while the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, was on his journey to the Fish river with his family, having stopped for the night on one of the extensive plains over which they had to pass, a little Hottentot boy, the leader of one of the teams, having laid down to sleep at a little distance from the wagons, was seized by a lion. His screams having aroused the people who had not yet gone to sleep, the noise they made in pursuing the animal, induced it to drop its prey, and the child was found at a few yards distance, very little injured by the jaws of the beast.

"At three p.m. we proceeded on our journey towards Mossel Bay, which I was very anxious to visit, that I might form my own judgment as to its fitness as a resort for the coasting trade. The accounts published by the Dutch authorities of every part of the coast, threw great discouragement over every prospect of such a trade being ever established; but they were evidently influenced by consideration of the inexpediency of the coast being known to foreigners, which would render it necessary to defend many parts hitherto avoided as dangerous.

"We soon reached the farm of Thunis Meyer, lying in a beautiful, fertile, and tolerably well cultivated valley. The land was evidently good, and immense quantities of grain might have been grown here, in the

immediate vicinity of Mossel Bay, where the anchorage might be deemed as safe as that of Table Bay, and from whence it might be shipped either for the capital or the foreign market. Between this place and Mossel Bay lies another extensive farm, belonging to Mr. Muller, also abounding in grain, and in which a number of horses and black cattle are annually reared. The farm lies at the eastern extremity of the Kleine Riverberg, and has a distant view of the sea, near Mossel Bay and the mouth of the Kayman, or 'Crocodile's Gut.' There are some deep and well wooded glens and precipitous ravines in the immediate neighbourhood of this farm, beautifully wild and picturesque. The aloe, the mimosa, with every description and size of shrubs, and an immense variety of blooming and curious heaths, and other flowering plants, give a richness and beauty to the scene of which neither the pen nor the pencil could give any adequate idea. We remained at Mr. Muller's, and were as usual kindly and hospitably treated. It was here we remarked the apparently improvident and wasteful manner in which the Dutch colonial system of farming was carried on. A thrashing floor is built on the summit of an elevation commanded by the prevailing S.E. wind, and here the corn is trodden out by the hoofs of horses driven round the enclosure at a quick pace; after which it is turned up to the breeze, and the chaff and the straw are carried far away, being considered of no value here, as it was supposed the cattle would not feed upon it. This might certainly be true when they had abundance of green food at command, but could not be the case in

the hot summer months, when the country was parched up in all directions. We had an opportunity of shewing the error of this system, for when dry feeding cattle for St. Helena was practised at Simon's Town, the straw formed a very principal part of their food.

"On the following morning a thick haze covered the face of the country, a sure indication that the day would be sultry, and we had every reason to respect the prediction. We left Mr. Muller's at eight in the morning of the 10th December, and traversed an extensive plain, on our way to Mossel Bay. We at length reached an eminence, from which a most magnificent view of the bay and eastern coast presented itself. Cape St. Blaize, which when originally discovered, gave its name to the bay, since altered by the former to the more familiar one, taken from the immense number of the shell-fish, to Mossel (or Muscle) Bay lay on our right. The little village or depôt formed by the Dutch for collecting corn on government account was immediately below our feet, with the receding range of the Swartberg mountains, and the indented line of sea coast, terminating the prospect on the left and in front.

"On our arrival in Mossel Bay, we were most kindly and hospitably welcomed by Mr. Obeen, a worthy Dane, long settled here, and whose name has been frequently and respectfully mentioned by travellers who have visited this place. He gave me some interesting information upon a subject I had much at heart, and assured me that he did not consider this bay as a dangerous anchorage, although exposed to the

S. E. winds, which in the offing blew with much violence, but seldom, to use the seamen's phrase, 'blew hard.' During the period of his residence here, more than thirty years, he could remember more than one hundred vessels having anchored here, not one of which ever met with an accident whilst riding in it. An Englishman, named Murray, traded here ten years; though his vessel was at last stranded on its passage round Cape Lagullos, which I apprehend to be one of the greatest dangers on this part of the colony, and should be accordingly avoided, not only by coasters, but by all vessels. There is no reason why any should approach this dangerous point; on the contrary, they may generally insure a quicker passage by keeping a good offing; and as the coast, and the set of the currents are better known, the danger will vanish in a great measure.

We were so much struck with the situation of this bay, as an outlet for the produce of the most valuable part of the colony, that we employed ourselves on each day that we remained here in making such observations, and obtaining such information as might direct our judgment in forming a correct opinion as to the possibility of its being adopted as a depot. From the soundings we took, we became convinced that a mole carried out about one hundred yards to the N.E. from a point running off from the spot where the magazine is built, would give effectual shelter to as many coasting vessels as might be employed in taking off the produce, not only of the immediate neighbourhood, but of the Large Kloof. From two and a half fathom to

three and a half might be found the whole length of the mole, and this might easily be formed by rolling masses of rock from the elevated ground into the water without any artificer's work. Such a mole might be increased to any extent, that the trade might demand. Such moles are formed in every part of the Mediterranean—witness Palermo, Messina, Naples, Civita Vecchia, &c. &c., and particularly Gibraltar, where a mole for refitting ships of the line is formed in seven fathoms water, exposed to the whole fury of a western gale. Hence it is evident that a mole in Mossel Bay of such immense value to the surrounding country, would be no idle or useless speculation.

"Thirty labourers under an active superintendant would perform a considerable part of this work in the course of a year; and the blocks of stone, lying at hand on the shore, would soon form the foundation.

"I believe that the opinion I have ventured to offer respecting the general fertility of the soil, and its adaptation to the growth of corn, throughout the whole extensive tract comprehended between the Swartberg and the sea, from the Gauritz to the Kayman on which the Capital of the district of George is situated, will be confirmed by the general voice of the inhabitants. It requires only an industrious and an increased population, with an outlet for the produce, to bring it into the most extensive and successful cultivation; for even the sour grass so destructive to sheep and cattle, I was every where assured disappears from the soil, when the plough comes upon it. With respect to manure, let those who have travelled into the interior of the

country say, what immense heaps are collected in the immediate vicinity of the houses on all the farms, especially on the cattle farms; of which no use whatever is made; as the farmer prefers breaking up new land, which he is always enabled to do from the improvident system of granting farms of such an immense size. The consequence is, that the heaps of manure annually accumulate, and the heavy rains falling upon them, bring away noxious streams; which, where the ground is level, form into stagnant and fetid pools, to the great danger of the health, if not of annoyance to the eyes and noses of the inhabitants, accustomed to such objects.

"A considerable and a valuable fishery might also be carried on in Mossel Bay. There is a great demand for salted fish in every part of the interior for food for the slaves, and the Mahometans; and a very profitable traffic might be carried on in this article, and be the means of removing another great hindrance to agricultural progress; for the division of labour, which does so much in all other countries, by leaving to those who have been brought up to any particular calling the exercise of the skill and talents they have acquired in it, is almost lost sight of in this colony. The farmer, instead of devoting all his energies, his people, his capital, and his time, to the improvement of his estate, becomes his own carrier to a distant market, his own wood cutter, carpenter, wheelwright, fisherman, &c., and makes but a very indifferent figure in each capacity, when compared to those who confine themselves to one distinct branch. Fishing is another very great source of temptation to

the Boor, and suits well with his restless and migratory habits. Those even at a very considerable distance from the coast, will embark their whole family, labourers, slaves and all in their wagons, provided with seines, and other fishing gear, and salt; and proceed to the coast in the larder* season, where they will encamp and remain for weeks catching and curing fish, and at the same time enjoying all the pleasures of the chase where game abounds. This recreation and enjoyment is only censurable when the more important concerns of the farm and its produce are neglected, and the public interest consequently suffers from the high price of the necessaries of life, or what amounts to the same thing, from the very high rate of exchange on remittance bills to the mother country for want of the means of carrying on an export trade. But upon this subject the Dutch farmer has views and ways of thinking peculiarly his own. In conversation with one of them upon the subject of the high price of grain, he said, 'Why Commissioner, I would rather it even were at one hundred rix dollars a load than at fifty, although the high price might arise from a scanty crop, on my own farm, as well as on those of my neighbours; for in the former case, one wagon would take one hundred dollars worth to market, and in the latter case it would require two.' This hereditary calculator never had taken it into consideration, that by superior talent and energy his farm might have produced its full amount, and that he would have shared in the high prices caused by the neglect of others.

* The larder is a species of white mullet.

"A few days before our arrival in Mossel Bay, a schooner belonging to Mr. Van Rienan had come in there, and he had disposed of a considerable quantity of iron, tea, sugar, wine, brandy, coffee, together with a large stock of European manufactures, by auction, for money only, at six months' credit. A most ruinous system, holding out the strongest incentive to extravagance and intemperance. The profits upon these cargoes, or rather the difference between the original and the last prices paid upon them, were stated by the purchasers to be 100 per cent. and they were probably not above the fact in their estimate. The temptation of long credit alone induced them to buy under such circumstances, and the prices were farther supported by a monopoly in the trade, arising from a want of competition, leaving the whole in the hands of one enterprizing man.

"On the 11th of December we quitted Mossel Bay, at three p.m., on our way to the Gulbecks River, on the banks of which we were to halt for the night. The road winding round the N.W. shore of Mossel Bay, although very rugged and difficult in many places, might with a little exertion be rendered tolerable, if not good. Having ascended a gradual acclivity of about five miles from the Bay, we had a most magnificent view of the windings of the Hartebest River, through a beautifully diversified valley, with the Swartbergs in the back ground, their summits illuminated by and sparkling with the rays of the setting sun, catching upon the broken crags by which many of the heights were terminated. The house of Mr. Mayers, who was

to be our host for the night, stood upon a gentle eminence, sloping down from the mountain towards the sea, and commanded a splendid view of the valley, the river, and the sea, with the whole range of coast from Mossel Bay to the Kayman. Mr. Mayers is an example of what may be done by industry and exertion. His family and his house were highly creditable. Hospitality, neatness, and every appearance of domestic felicity, gave a relish to this scene which is not easily forgotten, and would have been a subject for admiration in any part of the world. All that struck the eye conveyed an idea of comfort and respectability, and shewed the effect of habitual attention to arrangement and cleanliness. A group of beautiful and orderly children gave promise that this valley would flourish in future generations.

"Mr. Mayers had long been afflicted with rheumatism, and had almost become a cripple, he still walked with a crutch, but was recovering. He appeared to have lost neither energy or cheerfulness. When one of our party remarked to him how fine a family he had, his answer seemed to come warm from his heart, and his feelings glistened in his eyes, while he said, 'Yes, and that was the reason why I was so anxious to recover my health, that I might see them respectably brought up.'

"The most serious of all wants experienced by the colonial farmers in general, is the great distance from all means of religious instruction. I have already shewn how much property increases in value by lying in the neighbourhood of a church; and the people are gene-

rally willing to make sacrifices, in order to have places of worship amongst them. From Caledon to George, a distance of a hundred miles, there is no church; and all the families in the intermediate space are obliged to go either to the one or to the other town for marriages or christenings; indeed they often, if not generally, availed themselves of their occasional journies to Cape Town with the produce of their farms, for these purposes. Impressed with the deplorable state of ignorance, and in too many cases of vice, in which some of the Boors' families were living, for want of the care of a pastor, I subsequently wrote to the Bishop of London, and stating the effects produced by the exertions of the Moravians as an encouragement, I ventured to suggest that Ministers of the Church of England should be sent out, and located in different parts of the colony, where they might live comfortably and respectably, on a very moderate income, assisted by a certain portion of land; and I added, that were a clerk to accompany the minister, a man of well known good character, and skilful as a mechanic, particularly as a carpenter, mason, or blacksmith, it was certain that a village would rise up in a very short space of time, and that the religion as well as the language of England would rapidly spread throughout the colony.

"The scene round the country churches on sacrament Sundays, which occur about four times in the year, resembles a large fair, from the wagons coming from every part of the country within a day's journey of the church, and sometimes even from a much greater distance. They remain the whole day, and not unfrequently

for several days together in the rainy season, from the country being flooded. The people upon these occasions also, as well as upon their more distant journeys, inhabit their wagons, with the exception perhaps of a few, who may find accommodation with friends residing near the church; but this general and periodical assemblage too often leads to conviviality and intemperance, which entirely defeat the religious intention of the journey, and render the sacred rite which was intended for their benefit an additional cause of iniquity. That there are many striking exceptions to this line of conduct, I have already endeavoured to shew; but the effect of such a state of things upon the great mass of uneducated people, must be evident to every one who knows the propensities of mankind. *It* does then become a most imperative duty on the mother country to administer to the spiritual wants of her distant population, and neither labour nor expense should be spared; though in this case, but little of either is required. The bare selection of fit persons as pastors, with a very moderate income, say £300 per annum, with a grant of land and proper encouragement to a pious and skilful mechanic, as a clerk, would be all that is required, for a considerable extent of this fertile wilderness, for such it may be well termed, both in a moral and an agricultural sense. The respectable character of Mr. Meyers, will at the same time account for and justify this digression.

"This is a considerable corn farm, called Hartenbosh Kraal. In tolerable years the return is about twenty bushels for one, which although it falls far below the

produce of many other parts of the colony, especially where new lands are brought under cultivation, is nevertheless a fair average, but here again the great want is a market. Mr. Meyers assured me, that could he procure forty rix dollars the load for his corn at Mossel Bay, he would employ every one of his people in cultivating his land, but that he could not afford to send it to the Cape. He had three hundred head of cattle, forty horses, and a large flock of sheep; the latter, however, were very subject to the rot, in consequence of the sour grass. The large cattle were in excellent order.

"On the 12th December we left this interesting family, deeply impressed with their kindness, and with all we had seen there. We were obliged to wait till ten o'clock, before we could proceed on our journey, in order that the tide might be out in the rivers we had to pass, and enable us to ford them; these were the Grilbeck, and the great and little Braake. The Grilbeck is a tributary stream to the little Braake. We crossed them both near the confluence, the first about fifty yards in breadth, but at the time not more than two feet deep; the latter is a considerable stream, and in some parts of our passage nearly five feet in depth. The country between these rivers is irregular, and sometimes precipitous. The valley between the great and little Braake had the appearance of much fertility. The road winds round the southern slope of a range of hills diverging from the great chain of mountains, which runs parallel with the coast, and stretches towards the sea. We crossed the great

Braake about a mile from its mouth, where it was lost at this period in a high ridge of sand stretching across it, but which of course gives way to the winter's torrents. This blockade is of such constant occurrence, as to deprive the great Braake of all prospect of being made navigable. This river was not broader where we crossed it than the little Braake, but its banks were steeper, and the depth much the same. In winter it must be a tremendous torrent, from the great declivity of its bed, and the steep and precipitous ravines running into it. From the summit of a high hill on the eastern side of the great Braake we had one of the finest prospects we had as yet enjoyed. It comprehended a most magnificent combination of mountain, plain, deep wooded dells, the windings of the rivers, and a most extensive line of the sea coast, including the whole of Mossel Bay and Cape St. Blaize, the view extending and losing itself in the far western distance. This spot called forth a rapturous description and admiration from Lichtenstein, and well deserves both.

"We now approached the great forest of Uitenhage land, and already saw fine timber trees skirting the southern slope of the Swartberg, and flourishing in increased luxuriance in the deep ravines, where they derived nourishment from the alluvial soil continually carried down by the rains. The vegetation of these dells is rank and productive beyond expectation, especially when contrasted with the stunted production of the plains we had been so long traversing.

"From the great Braake to the Mudzikammer we crossed an elevated plateau, well cultivated in many

parts. The grass however is sour, and unfit for grazing; but this pernicious quality wears off after having been turned up by the plough. Here we had the first view of the rising city of George, the chief town of the district; also the new road into the Lange Kloof, made in the pass of a mountain called Craddock's hing, after the Governor in whose time it was begun, Lord Howden.

"The traveller is greatly deceived in his estimate of the distance from his first sight of George, after having ascended the heights on the left bank of the great Braake; to all appearance he thinks he could ride it with ease to himself and his horse in an hour and a half; but the road is so crossed by deep ravines, no appearance of which present themselves, that we spent more than four hours in reaching that place.

"The banks of the Mudzikammer are most formidably precipitous, and here was the steepest pass we had met with over any river. On reaching it we found a wagon stuck in the bottom of the only narrow road which led across the river, and in such a manner as precluded all possibility of our getting over until it was removed. This is a circumstance that frequently occurs, and the driver of the arrested wagon bears his detention with the utmost degree of philosophy. He proceeds to light his fire, and cook his meals, and then goes quietly to sleep, well knowing that he is the master of the pass, and that none can proceed either east or west until he is extricated; he is sure therefore of the assistance of the first span of oxen or horses which may come. This extrication must have fallen

to our lot, had we not preceded our wagon on horseback and found a person waiting for us at this place, with information that a relay of horses had been sent for us to the pass of the Palmiet River, about a mile higher up the ravine. We accordingly turned off in that direction, and passed the Palmiet River, or more properly speaking the Palmiet bog, for no water was visible. This was not effected without great difficulty, even with fresh and vigorous horses, which had been kindly sent by Mr. Van Kemper, the Landroost of George. It is a deep slough, formed by the decayed roots of the Palmieto; and the waters oozing from the surrounding ravines, in dry weather not being in a sufficient quantity to form a stream, stagnate among the roots. The wagon sunk into the floating mass up to the axle-trees; but what increased the difficulty was the very steep height of the opposite bank, which was to be ascended after getting over. The ground is so unequal that it is almost impossible for the horses to draw together; but every effort is made by the whip and the voice to urge them to simultaneous exertion, and is generally successful. It was at length overcome, and we proceeded gaily on the road to George, where we arrived at half-past five o'clock, and were most cordially received and welcomed by our excellent friend the Landroost.

"The town of George is increasing rapidly under the animating and paternal direction of their excellent and amiable Landroost, Mr. Van Kemper. The streets cross each other at right angles, and the houses are built at such a distance from each other, as to place

each in the midst of a garden. The principal street is nearly a mile in length, and is terminated on one side by the Landroost's house, a comfortable and substantial residence. There is a neat little church, also a court house, surgeon's house, and a gaol.

"The inhabitants of George at the time of our visit did not exceed six hundred. Their chief employment when not engaged in building, was in cutting wood in the forest of Uitenhage land, to send to Cape Town; some of them were engaged in cutting wood near Plattenberg Bay for the naval department.

"The expediency of Mossel Bay being made a port for the shipment of the produce of this district was the universal theme of conversation at George. It was justly considered that inestimable advantages would result from such a measure being adopted, not only to this part of the country, but to the Lange Kloof, and the whole eastern portion of the colony. All concurred in opinion that corn and every other essential of life could be raised to any extent were but the means of export open to them.

"The complaint of wanting manure was heard of for the first time at George, and this may be accounted for by the very few cattle which are kept in the vicinity on account of the sour grass; but the immediate neighbourhood of the forest offers a never failing resource from the abundance of vegetable matter in a state of decomposition and full of fertility. The sour grass also, as has already been observed, will disappear with cultivation.

"The church is a heavy building in the Dutch taste

but sufficiently large to contain the population of the town and immediate neighbourhood. It is kept in the neatest order internally and externally, and notwithstanding its grotesque architecture, forms a fine feature when relieved by the dark foliage of the forest in the back ground, with the Swartberg receding in the distance. The ground on each side the streets is marked out in building lots, ready for sale. A given time is allowed for building a house on an established plan, and after the period is expired, the owner is made to pay fifty rix dollars per annum until it is finished. The place is remarkably well supplied with water from springs rising at the foot of the Swartberg, and which is led in channels through every street and into every garden.

"The town of George was began in 1812, under the government of Sir John Craddock. Considerable progress had been made during the five years which had elapsed. Artificers of all descriptions find abundant employment. Carpenters, masons, blacksmiths gain from one and a half to two rix dollars a day, a much lower price than what is paid at the Cape, nor is the difference in the price of provisions such as to justify the reduction. Consequently none but people of a very common skill in their employments will remain there, as every thing finds its own level in this colony as elsewhere, employment only is wanting.

"No medical man had yet offered for the town of George, notwithstanding a house was provided for him. This was severely felt; a child was dangerously ill without the possibility of medical advice being obtained; we

ventured to prescribe such treatment as would have been adopted in our own families under similar circumstances, which was providentially successful.

"Amongst the new inhabitants of George, the saddler appears to be the most industrious, and deservedly the most flourishing. He not only carried on an extensive business in his own line throughout the Lang Kloof and the eastern parts of the colony, but was also a principal builder at George, and an improver of land. He had formed a large reservoir of nearly one hundred feet square, in the neighbourhood of his house, by which he is enabled to keep all his grounds under cultivation in the dry season.

"On the 14th December we went to visit a missionary establishment at Hoet Kraal, where we found a solitary missionary of the Presbyterian persuasion, who had been settled there several years before. His progress among the poorer classes and the Hottentots had not been rapid, nor with his limited means and unassisted efforts could it have been expected. He has by his own labour erected a building, which answers at once for a chapel and school house, and may contain from two to three hundred people. He has built a small cottage for his own dwelling, and has also a large and very productive garden, with abundance of vegetables. Nearly three hundred Hottentots with their families have settled near him, and many of them manifest much intelligence and industry; are increasing in comforts; and are following the example of their brethren in Genadendahl in their advance towards civilization;

although they are in want of many useful articles which these obtain from the Moravians.

"Mr. Pachault, the missionary here, has the character of being a most worthy, pious, and consistent man; he devotes himself entirely to the performance of the duty he has undertaken, and appears to derive great happiness from the employment. His flock seem to reverence him with filial affection, and what is a still more striking proof of the mildness and the usefulness of his conduct, the inhabitants of the district are all loud in his praise. We attended divine service, which consisted of a hymn sung by the Hottentots, whose wild and untaught notes were still more delightful, or at least affecting, than those at the Moravian establishment. This was followed by a sermon in Dutch, which was received with very marked attention; and he then expounded the seventh chapter of St. Matthew, verse by verse, in a manner which appeared to my companions who were acquainted with the language, calculated to leave the most salutary impression upon the minds of his hearers.

"A Hottentot boy of twelve years old is Mr. Pachault's assistant, and acts as schoolmaster. His scholars are said to make a great proficiency. This boy has an additional finger on each hand.

"From Hoet Kraal we visited Wyt Fonteyne, a beautiful spot upon the skirts of the forest, near the town of George, belonging to Mr. Van Kervel. He is building a house of some magnitude there, delightfully situated, and in the neighbourhood of the finest forest

scenery in the world. A great variety of stately trees abound there, and a most extraordinary creeper, the wild vine, called by the natives the Bavian's tew (or the baboon's rope, as these animals climb the trees by them,) which having crept up the trunk, and over-run all the branches, hang down in all directions in a most extraordinary and picturesque manner, having sometimes the appearance of a large ship coming out of a severe action.

"We were delighted with our Sunday at George; the day was remarkably fine, and the inhabitants of the district had assembled from great distances to attend the service of the church. They arrived in numerous wagons, which were collected round the church. The clergyman, Mr. Harold, is a very respectable man, his congregation is always numerous, but particularly on sacrament days, which are once in a month; when all who can attend, make a point of doing so; a convincing proof of their favourable disposition towards religion. That there are many lamentable instances of this being confined to the mere external ceremony must be acknowledged and deplored, but the charge is not to be confined to the Boor. It is but too common under infinitely superior advantages of light, and knowledge, and education. The evil which appears most generally prevalent amongst this class of people arises from the want of education, and were this removed, they would stand high in their claim to the respect of their brethren. The fault I allude to is cruelty to their slaves; but this is the unavoidable consequence of slavery itself, which debases

the mind of the master, whilst it lies like a deadly incubus upon that of the wretched bondman; too often extinguishing every spark of good feeling in each towards the other, less frequently however in the latter than in the former. The children of the Boor have in general been taught to consider the slaves as brute beasts, without souls, and to treat them accordingly; and hence comes the opposition so often made to every effort for instructing them, or for civilizing the Hottentot. Still we may hope that these feelings and these prejudices are fast wearing away, and that the intelligence of the rising generation both of blacks and people of colour, will shew the blessings of liberty upon the human mind, a liberty which will lead him to that state in which all shall be free indeed, to pure and life-growing Christianity, a state in which the labourer will work for love, and the master rule in kindness, and with a sincere desire that all around him shall be happy. This digression arises more from a desire to vindicate than to condemn the Boor, for it is too much the fashion to deny him any good quality.

"The benevolent and exemplary conduct of the Landroost, Mr. Van Kervel, is producing the happiest results as regards the situation of the slaves and Hottentots. It was delightful when driving through the town in his wagon, to see the slave children running after it, and climbing into it, some of them even accompanying him in his airing, uninvited, and unrebuked. The good man quite enjoyed their happiness.

"The country produces all the necessaries of life in

abundance, but they must import their luxuries. The grapes will not ripen sufficiently to make wine, and this is brought in general from Cape Town, at the rate of forty rix dollars the pipe; thus adding greatly to the price; whilst the value of the wine must be greatly lessened by being shaken in a wagon for two hundred miles over the roughest roads than any wine ever travelled upon.

"Several large ponds are made in the neighbourhood of the town, in the centre of which are placed little islands for breeding rabbits and poultry, and for securing them from the devastation made among them when not so protected, by jackals and mooshunts, (the latter is a species of weazle.) The enclosures to the gardens are made of large blocks of blue clay, which becoming indurated by exposure to the sun, are very substantial and durable.

"We here saw the slave who had been discovered by Colonel Collins in a residence which he had made for himself in the heart of the Zitzakamma forest; and I give the story of this extraordinary man in the words of Colonel Collins, an officer who had been employed in ascertaining the resources of the Colony, and from whose most valuable reports, (copies of which I found in the Commissioner's office in the dock yard,) much useful information had been gained respecting the forests. Colonel Collins says—'Soon after we passed the Doll River, we found the former residence of a Maroon slave, a native of Malabar, who had been brought from it (the hut) a few weeks before in the hope of reward by the Kaffers, whom we had been in search of. The

poor fellow had been six years in this unfrequented spot. A companion, whose grave we perceived at the distance of several miles beyond his habitation, for the first four months cheered his retreat, but he passed the remainder of his time without the company of a human being.

"'The first hut he had constructed was concealed in the woods; the second shewed that he had built it with more confidence, for it was placed outside the forest, and an undisturbed residence of several years having given him reason to suppose that he might end his days in that peaceful abode, he had begun to build on a larger scale, but had only completed half his new mansion, when he was deprived of his possession. Whether he supposed the land under the large wood, better than that naturally without any, I cannot say, but he had cleared at least two acres, which he had converted into an excellent garden, containing vegetables, tobacco, and fruit trees, which his labour had appropriated to his own particular use. The dung of the Elephants and Buffaloes, which are both exceedingly numerous in that quarter, had served him for manure, a heap of their bones, and those of Elands, Boshbocks, and other antelopes, of whose skins he had manufactured good clothing, cut according to the European fashion, manifested his success in the chase, or rather his ingenuity in contriving pits and snares to catch these animals. His industry had even extended to the baking of earthenware; and this new Robinson Crusoe had contrived by his own exertion, to unite in his solitude all the comforts that are enjoyed in civilized

life. Indolence had certainly no share in prompting his flight, nor had the fear of punishment been the cause of it, for he had never committed any crime.

"'Desirous to obtain some information respecting the country I was about to enter, I sent for this extraordinary man. The fear of his escape, and the weight of his fetters, had made it necessary to bring him in a wagon thus chained. It was his master's intention to avail himself of his future services, but observing to him that it was possible he might frustrate his vigilance, and draw other Maroons to the distant country he had lately inhabited, I directed that he should be immediately taken to the Cape, and there changed or otherwise disposed of.'

"In conversing with this energetic and interesting being, he confirmed all that Colonel Collins had stated, and gave us many additional particulars; amongst others, that he was frequently pursued by the Buffaloes, which often broke down his enclosure; and that his house was only saved by being built against a tree, and under the shelter of its low and protecting branches. He had carried with him a quantity of garden seeds, which produced all he required. After having been brought to Colonel Collins by the Kaffers as before stated, and sent by that officer to Cape Town, he received his freedom from the liberality of the Colonial Government, who directed that it should be purchased for him, and he became a resident at George. He appeared to be about forty years of age, stout and muscular, full of animation, and every way answering to the idea which

would be formed of one capable of putting such a plan in execution as he carried through.

"On the 17th December we left George on our road to the Knysna. The scenery on the left was extremely beautiful and picturesque, from the truly Alpine appearance of the Swartberg, the base of which is richly clothed with a superb forest stretching in the plain, and exhausting itself in scattered clumps, which gave the front ground a very park like appearance. The yellow-wood tree rising to a great height without a branch, and covered to its summit with a light green moss was particularly conspicuous; and from its branches the Bavian's tew hung in the wildest profusion, giving to the tree a most fantastic form.

"On the right, the plain stretched away to the southward as far as the eye could reach, sometimes varied with a gentle acclivity, or intersected with a deep ravine; though but little wood is to be seen in this direction. The grass is sour and hurtful to the cattle which graze upon it. The Swart River skirts the lower extremity of the forest, a small but beautifully transparent stream; a variety of trees grow so close to its banks as nearly to cross each other, and form by their reclining position the appearance of a rustic bridge. The foliage was broken into large masses of deep green, relieved by the brightest tints, and these with the catching lights as the sun emerged from flying clouds, presented one of the most captivating prospects I had ever beheld.

"Immediately after crossing this stream we ascended

a steep hill, and found ourselves on a small level plain, on which was formerly a Hottentot station, called Pampoo's Kraal. It is now occupied by wood cutters, who are employed in preparing loads of timber, plank, fellies and naves for wheels, and all kinds of materials for wagon work, to be in readiness to load the wagons for the Cape Town market. Many, and these chiefly Hottentots, were busied in preparing thongs cut from hides for the purpose of making harness. This is done by cutting the whole hide into one circular strip about an inch in breadth. A frame is then raised on two very strong posts, with a cross piece communicating one to the other in the form of a gallows; the thong is then passed over and over, in bites, until it nearly reaches the ground; when a heavy weight is attached to it, and by means of a lever the whole turned round and twisted, until the weight nearly reaches the cross piece, when the lever being withdrawn, the hide untwists itself with great velocity; this process frequently repeated stretches the hide to its proper length for use, and gives it the proper degree of flexibility. The harness made in this manner is very durable; and smaller strips treated in the same manner, are used for every purpose where small ropes would be employed in England.

"On our approach to Kayman River the country assumes features entirely new to us, and most strikingly picturesque and bold. The pencil and not the pen should be used to describe it. The river runs through deep and tortuous ravines, the sides of which sometimes awfully precipitous, are composed of strata of

sand stone, on which the aloe and other plants are seen growing from the fissures, in which a sufficiency of rich soil has been carried by the rains to afford them ample nourishment. Other parts of the banks sloped down to the river with a very steep descent, and the road by which the wagons descended to the ford, was seen winding in every direction, in order to render the descent as practicable as possible. I could with pleasure have devoted many days to sketching this bewitching scenery. Every step we made seemed to bring forth fresh beauties, and solicited a fresh application to the portfolio. The difficulties and even the dangers of the road were forgotten or unheeded. I had been left a little way behind in taking a sketch, when turning an angle in the road on my pursuit after the wagon, I saw it some yards beneath me with the wheels uppermost, having overset and fallen over a descent of some feet, where it was arrested by some shrubs and rocks. The oxen had been liberated, and formed a picturesque group round the wreck of the wagon, while the drivers and attendant Hottentots, as well as the servants who had been employed in leading our saddle horses, completed the picture, as they were endeavouring to collect the scattered cargo; a more animated, and at the same time, a more romantic scene never presented itself to an artist.

"Our vehicle had received but little damage, being constructed of a very hard and durable wood; but our baggage suffered greatly, especially the more fragile parts, such as bottles and glasses. Providentially we were in the land of hospitality, and were well assured

that we should want but little, at whatever place we might arrive for our night's lodging. This event therefore was considered of very little moment, being of very frequent occurrence; and it in no ways interrupted our pursuits, or our enjoyment of the sublime scenery around us, where every feature was of the grandest description. The contrast of form and colour in the several objects was striking to a degree; and the whole seemed at the same time to be so delightfully harmonized, shade softening into shade, that our admiration was unbounded. The view from the western summit included the ford and the Kayman's Gut, as the dark precipitous and very narrow mouth of the river is called, into which a heavy surf was rolling and expending its fury upon the cliffs on each side in clouds of foam; while only a few hundred yards higher up, the water was of a glassy smoothness, reflecting the deep green tint of the foliage on its banks. The coast here is of very considerable elevation, perhaps more than six hundred feet, and the chasm through which this little stream finds its way to the sea is but a few yards in breadth, whilst the sides rising abruptly to this great height form an object of indescribable interest. The distant blue horizon of the sea viewed from the elevation on which we were placed, cut the cliffs nearly two-thirds of the way up, and rendered our altitude more apparent.

"The wagon having been put to rights, and all damages repaired by the never failing thongs of hide, we proceeded on our way down to the ford; but to prevent a recurrence of disaster, it was carefully sup-

ported on each side by the whole party, and reached the stream in safety. The stream was just fordable by raising the baggage from the floor of the wagon; it was rapid, but smooth. If the view from the summit of the hills which overhang the banks of the Kayman was magnificent, that from the river was hardly less striking; we stood there surrounded on all sides by precipices and steep acclivities, with deep woods of every hue, and no apparent outlet, except the chasm in which the waters of the river met the roaring surf; the whole combined in forming a scene, beyond description grand and interesting.

"In ascending the opposite hills, the view, on looking back, was equally magnificent with that which we had previously enjoyed, although of a different kind. The Swartberg now formed the back ground, and was seen towering in great sublimity over those ravines, and the extensive plains by which they were separated; and the road by which we had travelled, winding in a most remarkable manner round the apparently precipitous sides of the hills, excited our wonder that wheels could ever have passed through such a country. The occasional view of a wagon crawling along, with its enormous length of train, and its white canvass top, gave great life to the picture. In the course of three hours after leaving the Kayman's Gut, we came to another pass equally celebrated by travellers in this country, called the Fraka de Vrow, or the Maiden's Ford. It was not quite so steep as the Kayman's Gut, but, if possible, more striking, from the circumstance of the road descending into the depth of a forest of almost midnight

darkness, in which the road wound for a considerable distance, shut out from the light of the sun. On approaching the bottom, gleams of light were seen lighting up here and there a broken rock, or the moss-grown trunk of a tree, and sparkling in the ripple and foam of the brawling torrent of deep green water, which formed the little river running through it. Near the ford the river expanded into a small lake, in the centre of which appeared a little verdant island, with cattle apparently grazing upon it; but this, onour approach, was found to be only a shoal left dry by the diminution of the waters; and the cattle belonged to a wagon, probably waiting for assistance to mount the hill. The effect, however, of these objects, with the chequered light playing upon them through the broken mass of rock and foliage, was extremely beautiful.

"The weather now suddenly changed from excessive heat to extreme cold, so that I could hardly stop to make a sketch of this romantic spot. Having ascended the eastern bank we came upon an excellent road, but intersected with many deep ravines. We reached Neepoth's farm at half-past three, where we dined; and proceeded through a country almost as picturesque as that which we had passed, but not possessing the same grandeur of scenery. The weather too was unfavourable to it. On approaching the widow Wren's, whose farm is situated in a valley near the Swartz River, we had a fine view of a magnificent forest, with a lake in front. The forest seemed to stretch to the sea coast on our right. We found the Swartz River too deep to

ford, and had again to unload our wagon and float it over, crossing ourselves in a boat.

"We slept here, and found it a most miserable abode. The night was very cold with rain, and there was no glass to the windows; still every effort was made for our comfort by the kind hearted inhabitants of this wretched dwelling. They soon procured us a meal of salt mutton and salad, with tea; and we managed to get through the night very tolerably. There was a very fine group of children, and we much regretted to see the family in such abject poverty. I sincerely hope the younger part have grown up to better fortune than that which seemed likely to await them.

"In the course of our journey, when employing oxen for getting over the steep passes which our horses were unequal to effect, I had often been struck by the manner in which the oxen were stimulated by being spoken to by name; and I had at this place an opportunity of witnessing the manner in which they are taught to know it. There were two enclosures, surrounded by fences adjoining to each other, with a small wicket gate communicating between them. In one the cows are all arranged, tied to the fence at a few feet distance from each other, and into the other the calves are driven. A Hottentot stands at the wicket gate, and calls for a calf by a name which has frequently been repeated to him while sucking; and if he comes at the call, he is immediately rewarded by being taken to his mother. Should a wrong calf approach the wicket, he is beaten away. They soon learn to know when the

voice is addressed to them, as becomes evident when the voice of the driver is heard; and Boschman, or Dunker, or Engeland, &c., no sooner hear themselves addressed, than their efforts are very visible, as they know that inattention to the sound is always followed by the whip or goad.

"At seven a.m. we proceeded on our journey, and soon crossed the Ruchti River, a few miles beyond which we came to the farm of Mr. Meeding, a most respectable, industrious man, whose wife, children, and house were all neat and cleanly. He was at this time building a new house, the frame of which only was up, and being prepared like those intended in England for what is called 'brick nogging,' very much resembled a huge bird-cage.

"In the preceding night they had caught a wild dog in a wolf trap. This is one of the most fearfully destructive animals in the country. They generally hunt in packs, spreading over a great breadth of ground, and having both scent and speed, it is very difficult for the object of their pursuit to escape them. In some districts they have almost exterminated the antelope tribe. The trap is a very simple contrivance, being a strong frame of about eight feet long, and four broad, and four or five in height, fixed firmly on the ground, and boarded over; a hole for entering is left at one end, and a live sheep is tied at the further end. The wolf in trying to reach it unavoidably passes over a board, with which is connected a rope suspending a sliding door; the least touch is sufficient to cast it

loose, and the door falling, the wolf is enclosed, without the possibility of escape, and is shot.

"The farmers have also traps with spring guns, by which they kill many of these dangerous enemies of different descriptions. Colonel Graham had been sometime before at the house of a Boor, farther to the eastward, in a place much infested by lions, when he received the following detail of a circumstance which had recently taken place. The farmer, assisted by his Hottentot, had in the evening set one of these traps, and early the following morning he went to see if any animal had been taken in it. He used the precaution most providentially of taking his gun with him, and coming to the place, observed that the trap had been sprung, and as a quantity of blood was on the ground near it, and traces of the same were seen leading to an adjoining thicket, he followed the track, looking cautiously before him, with his gun cocked, expecting to find the wounded animal. Instead of that, to his great horror, he saw his unhappy servant actually lying under the paw of a huge lion, who was playing with him in the same manner that a cat acts with a mouse it has taken, previously to putting it to death. The farmer took a deliberate aim, and shot the lion through the head; his death was instantaneous, and the Hottentot was rescued from his apparently inevitable fate, very little injured by the teeth of the lion, in being dragged from the trap to the wood. The poor fellow it seems had been beforehand with his master in visiting the trap, but had not thought it necessary to arm himself. The blood

on the ground was from the lion, which had been caught in the trap, and was supposed to have extricated himself by a sudden exertion on the approach of the Hottentot.

"Soon after leaving Mr. Meeding's, we reached the Gowkamma, another stream, having its source in the Swartberg, and finding its way through broken crags and ravines, to the shores of the Knysna. Here we had a view of a little hamlet, delightfully situated in a valley at the foot of a gentle slope, covered with wood, with an extensive range of corn fields on each side, and in front. On a nearer approach the forest lost much of its imposing appearance, being composed chiefly of the milk-wood, and other stunted and insignificant trees. There was also an extensive marsh, which at first sight we took for pasturage; but although the hamlet lost much of its importance on our reaching it, the scene was full of beauty. The banks of the Gowkamma were less steep than those of the Kayman, but at the same time highly picturesque. We were now approaching the country of the elephants and buffaloes; both of these are dangerous at times, but the buffalo is always so. Some time before, the horse of a Boor had been killed by one of these ferocious animals, whilst he providentially escaped, I believe, by taking to a tree. The event took place close to the house we were approaching,—Turnbull's.

"From a hill which we ascended on the left bank of the Gowkamma, we got our first view of the Knysna, and splendid indeed was the prospect; this beautiful harbour, for such it has proved to be, appearing like a

large lake, with a very narrow entrance from the sea, enclosed on each side by high and rocky cliffs; the eastern side of the lake clothed with magnificent forests to the water's edge, green and level islands dispersed in various parts of the harbour, offering secure pasturage to herds of cattle. The western side of the Knysna is as bare and apparently barren as the opposite is fertile. Those who have only seen the Knysna from this spot would be justified in supposing that all entrance to it from the sea was impracticable. A range of breakers is seen apparently stretching quite across the mouth; but this arises from rocky points running out from each shore, intersecting each other in the direction in which they are viewed.

"On the left of the entrance, and on a gentle declivity sloping down to the water, stands the house of the principal proprietor of this part of the country, Mr. Rex. It is called Milkwood Kraal. The grounds round this delightful spot had all the appearance of a park, from the clumps of large trees dispersed over a wide extent of grass land. The house is beautifully situated, the high hills in the back ground are clothed with timber to the very summit; it commands in front a view of the whole estuary of the Knysna, from the nearest part of which it is not half a mile distant. The water in the harbour is in general smooth as a small lake.

"We reached the banks of this beautiful river at a place called the west ford, the only spot were it can be crossed in safety, and this only after half ebb. On the right bank is a small plain abounding in good pas-

turage for cattle, and it is accordingly reserved for an out-span place. It is enclosed between an abrupt turn of the river and a range of hills to the northward, finely wooded. There is a farm on the rising ground overhanging a part of the stream, in a most romantic situation, surrounded by the most delightful scenery imaginable, in which every feature of the picturesque is combined; mountain and stream, cascade and still water, precipices, over-hanging rocks, and gentle declivities, all are included in the view, but so mingled as to excite universal admiration.

"The water at the time of our reaching the ford being too high to enable us to pass on horseback, we availed ourselves of some wood wagons laden with planks, which were crossing, on which we got over dry, unloading our wagon and taking our baggage with us. From the left bank our road lay over a high hill, from which we had a prospect of the same character with those which had kept our admiration on the stretch for the last two days. On descending from this hill we had to cross a small stream running into the Knysna, from the eastward, called the east ford. From this place the river becomes navigable for small vessels, and a road runs along the banks of the Knysna for wagons up to Milkwood Kraal. It was at this time very bad, but capable of being made tolerable by carrying it further back, out of the reach of the high tides. A quantity of underwood skirting the forest must first be cleared away, after which the road might be made good with little labour.

"We arrived at Mr. Rex's at three o'clock, and

were received with the utmost hospitality. The arrival of the Cornelia Arnoldina, a small schooner belonging to Mr. Van Rienan, the following morning, was a remarkable coincidence. The moment we heard that she was in the offing, we mounted our horses and galloped to the eastern head, nearly two miles, where we had a fine view of her, entering with a light breeze, and the disadvantage of a heavy swell, occasioning a tremendous surf on the shore. She was loudly cheered by all our party, now tolerably numerous, as every one from Milkwood Kraal had collected to see her. The master had never been in before, nor had any one on board. He followed the direction of Mr. Walker, the master of the Dispatch, and found no difficulty. The appearance of this narrow inlet is certainly alarming. It is not nearly as wide as the entrance to St. John's Harbour, Newfoundland, which it much resembles; and the projecting rocks on each side throwing back the breakers, spread the foam a great way over, and render the passage still more awful. But the vessel had no sooner entered the narrows than the tide sent her through with great velocity. The wreck of the Emu was lying under the eastern head, on the bank to which she had drifted after striking on the rock.

"We next proceeded to inspect that part of the forest lying between the Poort and the sea. The Poort is a pass through the great forest, running over a very steep ridge, on each side of which are deep ravines, and others branching out from them in various directions into the depth of the forest, all thickly wooded, and in some instances filled with very large timber trees.

The slope from the ridge to the right is more gradual than that on the other side, and leads to the forest of Springfield, where the greater part of the timber for the Dutch and English governments has been cut from the earliest period. On the left a part of the forest overhangs some tremendous ravines, from whence it had hitherto been deemed impossible to get out the noble timber which is growing in them. In the present state of abundance, it is not necessary perhaps to make the effort, but should a scarcity of valuable timber ever be felt, there is little doubt of the energy of the Dutch settlers procuring it from situations even still more difficult. We were accompanied in this inspection by Mr. Rex and Mr. Squire, the naval Resident and Inspector, and by several active and intelligent wood-cutters, and were highly gratified with the opportunity thus afforded us, of forming a judgment respecting the means which this part of the forest held out, for a supply of timber and plank, for naval, colonial, and commercial purposes.

"We returned to Mr. Rex's with the intention of setting out early on the following day, on a visit to that part of the great forest lying between the Knysna and the Gawkamma, called the Levenbosch. Mr. Rex had recommended this place as best calculated to supply the demands made by the Navy, now that the entrance of the Knysna had been found practicable, as the timber might be brought down to the west ford with ease.

"This part of the forest lies upon the western slope of the range of hills, and there are none of those

precipitous ravines which intersect the country in almost all other directions; so that an admirable timber road would soon be formed from thence to the river; even by dragging the logs as they were cut over the hard soil of which the surface of the intervening ground is formed, the distance from the Knysna being only five miles. We accordingly began our excursion on the morning of the 18th. We found in the forest timber of every size and description, but particularly the Stink wood so much required for naval purposes. I shall reserve what we have to say on the subject of timber in general for a chapter intended to be devoted to that purpose, confining myself for the present to a brief account of our journey, and to a description of the impressions made upon us by the first view of this extraordinary country. I quite concurred with Mr. Rex in the opinion that whatever establishment I might be permitted to form, for the purpose of procuring timber for the Navy, should be in the Levenbosch; and I decided accordingly upon placing it there; having the timber carried to the west ford, and from thence floated down to the east ford, the place intended to embark it from; where also I proposed to have a depot of timber, and a slip for building vessels.

"We found here a few wood-cutters with their huts on the skirts of the wood; they were employed in sawing planks and cutting beams for household purposes. It is impossible to conceive a more wretched degree of mismanagement and want of energy than this little settlement offered to our observation. In the first place it was made at an unnecessary distance from the

forest, in consequence of which, the trees when felled, were brought to the pit with much more labour and expence than was needful. In the next place, in order to procure a beam of nine inches square, a tree of eighteen inches diameter when stripped of its bark was taken and lined out, leaving the beam required in the very heart of the tree, and cutting off all the strength in the side slabs. These again became offal wood, in consequence of the manner in which they were taken off; not being sawn, but chopped as Robinson Crusoe is described to have prepared his plank.

"One of the Boors who had set up his party here, had come unprovided with the means of supporting them; depending as he said upon finding a supply of corn in the neighbourhood; although he must have known, that the inhabitants never grew sufficient for their own use. He was obliged in consequence to take his slaves, his wagon, and his oxen a journey of five days to procure what he wanted; and at the end of this period he was equally unsuccessful; for without any previous enquiry he proceeded to the Gauritz River, in order to get a load of corn from a relative, which he expected to have at a low price. The relative had none to spare, and with great difficulty he got a supply elsewhere. To this expedition of ten days in time, was to be added the injury done to his cattle and wagon in passing such formidable places as the Traka de Vrow, the Kayman's Gut, &c. He acknowledged to have lost two of his oxen. Such improvidence was but too frequent among the Boors.

"On our way to the woods I observed two small

patches of wheat, apparently in excellent order, but lying at a great distance from each other. On enquiry I found that they both produced a fair amount of crop; that the spots had not been selected on account of any particular quality in the soil; but that the whole of the plains over which we were passing to the forest was of the same description, and might with a very little trouble be made equally productive; and yet there was neither energy nor judgment sufficient among these people to induce them to devote the labour of their slaves and cattle, for one week in the year, to growing corn here, instead of passing many weeks on the road in search of it.

"In passing the Knysna this day, both Colonel Warre and his Hottentot had a narrow escape. We were fording the river on horseback, and the Colonel and his man having diverged a little from the direction in which the others of the party were following the steps of their guide, both disappeared; the top of the Colonel's hat, and the floating carcase of his attendant only appearing above water. We had scarcely time to feel alarmed, when they were seen to emerge from the river, and to gain the bank. They had fallen into a deep hole, of which many exist in the bed of the river, and render it very dangerous to strangers. A smart gallop of some miles soon dried their clothes again, and restored the Colonel at least to comfort; that of the Hottentot probably had never been interrupted."

The narrative of the journey closes here, and though that journey terminated, as has been already stated, un-

der circumstances so distressing to a parent's mind, the observations which were made during its progress, and the information which was gained, were not lost sight of afterwards or neglected. Sir Jahleel brought back with him strong convictions of the importance of the Cape as a Colony; while at the same time the misery which he had seen in some of the settlers, and the general want of that, without which earthly prosperity is but a very doubtful advantage, led to long and reiterated efforts for the improvement of the Colony, both in a religious and commercial view. And these efforts might have been attended with the happiest effects, had they been appreciated and received as they ought to have been.

Perhaps it is not saying more than is due to the profession to which he belonged, that if ever patriotic feelings were really and effectively developed, it was among the officers of the Navy at the close of the last war. Accustomed to traverse the whole surface of the globe in their country's cause; conscious that the character, the interests, the security of their country were entrusted to them individually; they looked at every thing in this connection, and considered how it might be turned towards the public good. The dream of universal empire never crossed their minds, but the hope of universal influence was unquestionably theirs; and while the liberties of the world seemed to find their best defence from the flag of Britain, it was not unnatural that men thus formed, and educated in their country's service, should identify the world's welfare with the extension of their country's power, and think

that every increase of British influence was a fresh security for the happiness of mankind.

The Journal which has been just presented to the Reader is no inadequate exhibition of the spirit which was at that time so characteristic of the British Navy, and which made every officer alive to the means of enlarging or strengthening the resources of his country.

Sir Jahleel perhaps may be thought to have had an official duty to perform ; and to have been required as Naval Commissioner to remark on the resources which the colony included, and which might be called for by the Arsenal at Simon's Town. But it is evident that his views were extended beyond any such temporary advantage ; and that he delighted in describing the resources of the colony, while regarding it as a constituent part of the empire, as offering fresh fields for the diffusion of the power and influence of Great Britain, and of the numberless blessings connected with the principles which seem belonging to that influence. He anticipated the moment when the varied surface of its territory might be brought into cultivation by the energy and intelligence of British settlers, and a fresh field for the manufacturing industry of the mother country might be opened in the prosperity of the colony. He saw what the country was, its natural advantages and capabilities ; and he wished to see those advantages improved, and those capabilities employed, by the introduction of an active, intelligent, and well principled population. Above all he looked forward to a time, when under the influence of the gospel, and through its stated ministrations, that wilderness

might be made to blossom as a rose, and the desert be like the garden of the Lord. He saw that the settlers scattered as they were along the line of coast, and surrounded as they were with a redundancy of the means of subsistence, were still, if contemplated in a higher sense, like sheep scattered in a wilderness, cut off by distance from all opportunity of religious observances, and separated from every influence that could restrain or regulate their inclinations. The occasional insight that he had gained into their domestic arrangements, supplied a painful contrast with the external welfare of their condition; and he brought back with him the conviction, that no real improvement of the Colony could be effected, unless something was done for the moral and religious improvement of the people. His feelings naturally led him to look to the Church of England, as the agency by which this good work should be undertaken; and it would have been well for the Colony, if the Church of England had had the power of extending its influence so far; or if the Government of the mother country would at once have given to the church, the power of amalgamating and uniting to herself, the distant dependencies of the Empire. Had the suggestions which Sir Jahleel Brenton then addressed to the Bishop of London been adopted, had some large and comprehensive scheme for the religious organization of the Colony been introduced, it is hardly necessary to say, that the affairs of the Cape of Good Hope would have stood on a very different footing from that which they occupy now; and that the painful and insurrectionary movements which have retarded its

advance, and which have sown widely and deeply the seeds of future trouble, might have probably been avoided. Had schools and churches been generally built, and provided for at the time of which we write, the population of the country would by this time have assumed a more stable and advanced character. Settlers of a superior quality, and in larger numbers would have been attracted to the Colony. The old inhabitants would have been more attached to the British Government, and the Hottentot population would have been reclaimed. The transition from slavery to freedom in their case would have been more completely accomplished, and with less disturbance to the prejudice of the Boors. The influence of law would have been generally felt throughout the province, and civilization would have proceeded more rapidly, while it was pressed on principles which all could recognize, and which all felt to be beneficial to themselves.

But it was not likely that a man situated as Sir Jahleel Brenton was, should know the difficulties which beset every endeavour to do good, and the obstacles which in every old and remote government retard or hinder the efforts of benevolent individuals. He did however what he ought, for he did what he could. He addressed to the one Bishop, who by a strange legal fiction was supposed to be charged with the spiritual care of the Colonies, a letter on the subject; pointing out what he had seen, and suggesting the steps which he thought it would be desirable to take. That the letter was read and acknowledged by the venerable

individual to whom it was addressed, there can be no doubt; though no copy of the Bishop's answer remains. That it excited in his mind a deep and painful feeling, by the mention of a destitution which he could not relieve, and of opportunities which he could not improve, may be assumed as equally certain; and though no result followed; and though this was to be numbered among the many efforts which it would seem must in every case be made, before any thing of real importance is to be accomplished; it still is due to the subject of this memoir, that this instance of his zeal should meet with a record here, if it has obtained no better record in the effects which it produced.

TO THE LORD BISHOP OF LONDON.

"CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, 24 MARCH, 1818.

"MY LORD,

"MY professional duty as Commissioner of His Majesty's Navy resident in this Colony, lately induced me to take a journey through the south eastern parts of it, in order to visit a port recently discovered at the mouth of the river Knysna; and in the course of it, I have made such observations upon the state of the country, through which I have passed, with respect to its inhabitants, as appear to be deserving of your Lordship's notice. Under such an impression I take the liberty of offering them, in the conviction that should they open any means of extending the influence of the Church of England, and consequently of diffusing the knowledge of the gospel, your Lordship will excuse the intrusion.

"Throughout the whole extent of country between Hottentots Holland and Plattenberg Bay, there are but three clergymen, viz. one at Caledon, one at Georges, and the third at Zwellendam. The population exceeds seven thousand, and is constantly increasing. The dwellings of the inhabitants, generally speaking, are

scattered through these districts at such a distance from the places above mentioned, that very few can form a part of the weekly congregation. The farmers have no means of instruction within themselves; in some few instances a schoolmaster is kept in the family, or rather a person, who can barely read and write, of low origin, and often of vicious habits. Books of any description except the Bible (and not always that) are seldom to be seen in their houses. The Boors of this colony are by no means deficient in capacity, or good dispositions; on the contrary, I have generally remarked amongst them great intelligence, much frankness, and disinterestedness; and their hospitality is a theme of praise with all who have had recourse to it.

"Their defects and privations arise from inveterate prejudices, inherited from the early colonists, and fostered by the state of gross ignorance, in which they have been brought up.

"No amelioration can take place whilst these obstacles exist; and I feel convinced they can only be removed by religious instruction. No legislative measures for the improvement of the country (of which it is greatly susceptible) can be efficacious, until the understandings of these people are made parties in the cause. At present, they are in direct hostility to any change however advantageous. The radical evil, I consider to be the state of slavery in this country, or rather the manner in which this wretched class of men are viewed by the colonists. The slaves here labour under disabilities which I believe are peculiar to this country. They are, by the existing laws of the colony, prohibited from becoming Christians and from marrying.

"The first of these cruel restrictions has in a few instances been dispensed with, but the latter never. On the contrary it is most pertinaciously adhered to. The effect of such laws is but too evident, not only to the judgment, but to experience. The first gives the utmost facility to the diffusion of the Mahometan tenets, whilst it impedes the progress of Christianity; and the most immoral and pernicious consequences inevitably result from the latter. These are too obvious and too well known to admit of their being dwelt upon. I will only observe that the youth of some of

the most opulent families, are, in consequence of such a system brought up, in total abandonment of those principles, from which alone they can ever be expected to become worthy and exemplary fathers of families. The most unquestionable authority may be referred to in support of these observations. Many of the principal slave proprietors, it is notorious, give a preference to their slaves being Mahometans instead of Christians; in the first place, because they conceive that it induces sobriety; and in the next, as it gives them a power over their female slaves which is incompatible with Christianity. These practices, which in the educated colonists are to be viewed with just abhorrence, must amongst the illiterate Boors be deplored as the effect of dark ignorance. A total reformation of the former class I consider as almost hopeless. They may be awed by the expression of public reproach, but the inclination will remain, and every means will be resorted to, to retain their power. With the latter class (the great majority) it is very different. They err from want of knowing better, and I am convinced possess feelings which, if properly directed, would glorify their God, and bring down his blessings upon their country. The disposition of the present government of this colony to annihilate these evils, is all that can be wished. Repeated efforts have been made by his Excellency the Governor, to ameliorate the situation of the slaves, and lower classes; but his power is not sufficient to produce the desired effect. The persons of influence amongst the colonists are too jealous of the articles of capitulation to hear of the smallest alteration being made in these laws; they instantly take the alarm, and join unanimously to reject every idea of improvement, which they suspect may in any way, however remote, interfere with their interests; and their slaves are considered as the most valuable part of their property. All hopes of reform must be derived from the exertions of the mother country; not by an infringement of its engagements with the colonists, but by earnest recommendations and persevering efforts to increase the Christian population; by the instruction of the Hottentots and Negroes, as well slaves as free. I am prepared to find that the first endeavours may not be greatly successful, but they

will gradually increase in influence, and the public mind, may in the meantime be improved and enlightened by religious instruction. The success of the Moravians at their establishment, for the conversion and civilization of the Hottentots at Bavian's Kloof, which I visited on my journey, affords the strongest encouragement to similar efforts being made by the Church of England. The contemplation of the truly benign effects, resulting from the mild and patient conduct of these excellent people—the rapid progress their converts were making in religion, and in the acquisition of the comforts of life, first excited in me the wish to address your Lordship, firmly impressed with the conviction, that one amiable, benevolent, and consistent clergyman of the Church of England, would in the course of a very short time, produce effects equally salutary not only on the poor and destitute inhabitants of the colony; but that his influence would extend to the wealthy farmer, and his dependents. The expence of such an undertaking need not be great. A certain extent of land given, in the first instance, by the Crown, for a Church and Glebe, and another for distribution amongst free persons of every description, whether Europeans, Hottentots, Negroes, or Malays, might be granted whenever required. These settlers should be assisted in the infancy of the institution with a small—but a very small—portion of capital, so as to enable them to provide articles of the first necessity, such as clothes, furniture, implements for building, cattle, and corn for the first year, the amount of which might be paid off by very moderate instalments.

"I am firmly convinced, my Lord, that the happiest effects would very soon result from such an undertaking. It would be no wild speculation, but one that must be of essential benefit to the colony, and thence to the mother country, for the expences would in a short time be defrayed by increase of trade, and national property. I beg leave to give your Lordship an instance of the value that becomes immediately attached to land in this colony, when put under cultivation, or rather when it is only in contemplation to cultivate it.

"The proprietors of different estates in Hottentots Holland,

about thirty miles from the Cape, were desirous of building a church to which their families might resort on the Sabbath, instead of having a journey of twelve miles to perform, in going to the church at Stellenbosch. A piece of ground was selected for the purpose, and purchased by subscription for 23,000 guilders; a portion of it was marked out for the church, another for the clergyman's house and garden, and as there remained a considerable quantity beyond what was required for these purposes, it was sold by auction in small lots, for building houses near the church, and brought the extraordinary price of 161,000 guilders. A similar effect, although probably not so great in degree, will result whenever a Government establishment may take place. By building and endowing a church, Government would be enabled to sell the contiguous ground so advantageously, as to remunerate them for all the expences; and by sending inhabitants from England for these new settlements, the chief want of the colony would be supplied, that of population; whilst numbers now starving and destitute in the mother country would be provided for, and the poor rates relieved in proportion. But what is of still greater importance, the Christian religion would be promoted in every part of this extensive colony. An establishment of this kind would be particularly desirable in the vicinity of the Knysna, of Mossel Bay, and the Brede River. The Knysna and the Brede River are secure and valuable ports, only ascertained to be such within the last two years, and Mossel Bay, may at a very trifling expence become such in a very short time. They are all situated in fertile corn countries. The Knysna has the additional advantage of being in the immediate vicinity of an extensive and valuable forest, where timber for building the largest ships is to be had in abundance and with facility.

"Upon an attentive consideration of all these circumstances, I cannot resist the impulse I feel to entreat your Lordship's notice of them, and that you would be pleased to recommend the measure of even one Clergyman of the Church of England being sent out, and established in either of the places above mentioned, with a very limited number of poor families from England, by way of

an experiment, upon the success of which may depend the extension of the plan.

"The sum required for such a beginning as might settle twenty families in comfort, need not exceed one thousand pounds sterling, including their passage out to this country. The materials for building, if in the neighbourhood of the Knysna, are to be had, as well as fuel, without any other expence than that of labour; the soil is excellent, easily cultivated, and may provide for any number of inhabitants after the first year. Meat is at two pence halfpenny sterling the pound, and would be considerably cheaper, were the families sufficiently numerous to share an ox among them. The whole of their labour will be necessarily required during the first year of their establishment to provide for their immediate wants; but in the second, many may begin to pay off the sums which have been advanced to them, by cutting timber for Government, or in any other way in which their industry may turn to account.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"JAHLEEL BRENTON."

"To THE BISHOP OF LONDON,"

But if these efforts for public improvement were unsuccessful, a mind like that of Sir Jahleel Brenton did not suffer the disappointment to cool his ardour, or to check similar endeavours. He had done what he could in that direction, and when he failed there, he did what he could in another. Some men offended at the indifference with which these representations were received, might have given up all attempt at doing good; and considered themselves as justified in their inactivity by the treatment they had met with. But the religion by which he lived, had taught him patience, and the spirit of the profession he belonged to had given him perseverance. His desire to do good

remained unbroken, and the failure of one scheme, merely turned his attention to others, which seemed more within his reach, and less dependent on the support to be derived from distant friends; for while there was no object so great, which he would not have endeavoured to grasp for the sake of doing good to others, there was no evil so trifling which his sensibility was not ready to notice. It may easily be supposed then, that the black servants of such a family would not be neglected; but that they would be carefully taught the principles of that religion, the fruits of which they saw exhibited in their master's daily practice. The observance of the sabbath naturally became more strict as the importance of its employments was more distinctly understood; and though the kindness of Sir Jahleel's character, as well as the simplicity of his religious views, saved the sabbath from all appearance of rigour, and rendered it in the fullest sense of the word a delight to every one within his influence; he could not but see more clearly the necessity of a strict observance of the institution, as he felt the difficulty of inculcating the knowledge of religion on the uneducated and half civilized natives. Men of various countries and of different dispositions were here placed under his charge; either as domestic servants, or as labourers in the Dockyard. Each, according to the opportunity which their situation offered, were made the objects of his christian kindness and care; and many it is hoped carried into other services, or into other lands, the seed which had been sown through his instruction, and the impression that had been made on their hearts by his

example. Of all these, the most singular, and perhaps at one time the most hopeful, was a lad belonging to that strange and degraded tribe called the Bushmen, to whom the name of Hermes had been given, and who was well known among the friends of Sir Jahleel in England by this significant denomination. Dr Barry, the talented young Physician who was mentioned above, as having attended Lady Brenton during her last illness, had rescued this boy, when a mere child, from the tyranny of a Dutch woman, his mistress, who abusing the power which the law gave her over a slave, was about to commit him to prison on account of some trifling theft, which he had been guilty of. Dr. Barry, touched with compassion at the boy's appearance, ransomed him from slavery, and was then glad to consign his purchase to the care of his benevolent patron. The boy thus admitted into Sir Jahleel's family, gave remarkable evidences of intelligence and quickness. Irritable and revengeful when wronged, he was in no ordinary degree attached and grateful when treated kindly; and his readiness of answer, and activity, made him a general favourite in the house; while his docility, and rapidity of comprehension encouraged hopes, that this child of the wilderness might be sent back as a messenger of peace, and a herald of mercy to his persecuted and benighted countrymen.

With Sir Jahleel this boy came to England, where the peculiarity of his appearance (for of all the sections of the human race, the Bushman most nearly resembles the monkey) attracted general observation; and in his family he remained discharging with correctness

the several duties of a domestic servant; subject to no other interruption than that which his vivacity and quickness of temper contrived to draw from the common occurrences of the day. One of these may be mentioned, as exhibiting the character of the boy's mind, and the strength of feeling which may exist even in the most uncouth representation of our nature. A Lady of rank who had heard of Hermes, expressed so strong a wish to see him, that he was sent to her house; and under the directions that had been left, was turned into the drawing room, where the lady intended to meet him. Poor Hermes who had never been in such a place before, looked round with wonder on articles of luxury, of which he hardly knew the use; and at last, when his mind was bewildered by the splendour of the scene, turning suddenly round he beheld an object still more astonishing than sofas, and tables, and porcelain vases, a Bushboy of his own height and colour, looking at him with features of surprise. To dart towards his brother, and to rush into his embraces, was the act of a moment. A loud crash was heard, the servants hurried into the room; a large pier glass was found shivered, and Hermes lying stunned with the blow, and senseless on the floor. It is hardly necessary to say, that the bushboy was the figure of Hermes reflected in a glass which reached to the ground, and that the illusion arose from the fact, that he had never before seen his own figure exhibited in such a manner.

It is satisfactory to know that the hopes entertained concerning this lad have not been entirely frustrated. After having remained some time in England, after hav-

ing acquired and adopted all the usages of civilized life, and apparently overcome his earlier propensities; the irritability of his temper and restlessness rendered it inconvenient to retain him in the family; and as his health was suffering from the climate of England, it was thought expedient to send him back to the Cape, and to place him in such a situation there, as might maintain the influence of his new habits, and prepare him for future usefulness in the country. It was reported that the original nature of the boy had resumed its sway, when he was placed in his original situation. It was said that he had disappeared from the Colony, plunged again into the bush, and become the wild timid wanderer that he had been; but the Editor is happy to add, that recent information received from the Cape, describes Hermes as settled in a respectable situation there, and as retaining a lively and grateful recollection of the kindness he experienced from his former master.

In these benevolent employments Sir Jahleel formed the acquaintance of the Rev. Dr. Philip, who has long filled the important situation of Missionary to the Cape, in connexion with the London Missionary Society, and whose name is well known to every one acquainted with the progress of missions in Africa, and as generally and deservedly respected. His acquaintance with Dr. Philip does not appear to have taken place before Lady Brenton's death; but the common interest they took in all measures for the improvement of mankind, soon after that time produced an intimacy, which led to much and confidential correspondence; and this correspondence was probably very beneficial to Sir Jahleel at

this period in his life. His religious convictions had been gradually gaining strength, and his religious views acquiring maturity. He had seen the insufficiency of that formal religion, which, at first, had been contemplated as the end and object to be aimed at ; and the regular study of the Scriptures, combined with other books, and particularly that of Mr. Wilberforce's Essay on Practical Christianity, had enabled him to take a wider and a juster view of the privileges and requirements of the gospel, than he at first possessed. Trials, repeated trials, had been the blessed means by which these clearer views of truth were made matters of experience. He knew in whom he had believed. He had felt that there was a power in the gospel, by which he had been enabled to overcome the world, and to realize in himself a change, which, at an earlier period of his life, he might have thought visionary, or improbable. He had resigned to the God who gave it, the blessing which up to that moment had seemed to be the substance of happiness, the object on which the warmest feelings of his heart had been centered; and in which he had experienced as much of earthly comfort as usually falls to the lot of man ; and he had found that he could resign it, and still have such comfort within his reach, as enabled him cheerfully to fulfil the duties of his office, and to go on rejoicing in the hope of a more perfect rest, a more abiding happiness hereafter. To a mind thus constituted, and thus prepared, led by a gradual process to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus, and having had that knowledge proved by trial, and confirmed by experience, the intercourse

of one like Dr. Philip, a man advanced in spiritual things, and familiarized with the difficulties which beset the believer's path, must have been welcome, if not necessary ; and it was natural, therefore, that under the circumstances in which Sir Jahleel was placed, the society and counsel of Dr. Philip should be sought with that peculiar eagerness with which an awakened mind, and a wounded spirit are apt to seek the only consolations that meet their wants. On the other hand it was equally natural that Dr. Philip should be struck by the characteristic openness and integrity of the Commissioner, and that he should be drawn towards him by that irresistible charm, which the sweetness of his temper threw over his conversation and address. He must likewise have felt, that in the position which he himself occupied at the Cape, where he was viewed with coldness by the Government, and with jealousy and hatred by the Boors, who suspected the effect that his missionary efforts would have on the Hottentot population, and imagined that every attempt to raise that degraded race was a wrong to themselves, and an injury to their interests ; the friendship and patronage of a man of high professional character, and holding a distinguished government office, was a help of no ordinary magnitude, and might have been regarded, at the time, as a support vouchsafed by providence. But it is certain that he must soon have found, in the state of Sir Jahleel's mind, in the anxiety of his enquiries, and in the sincerity of his pursuit of truth, the grounds for a deeper and more abiding feeling ; and he must have rejoiced, that in a country where there was much to sadden a Christian's

heart, there was one case before him, where the grace of God was so manifestly working, and where the fruits of the Spirit were so largely brought forth. Acquaintance under such circumstances soon ripened into friendship. They found themselves, in many cases, united in one common work; and still more frequently, the only two who felt alike on the subjects that came before them; and each had reason to rejoice in the associate thus unexpectedly discovered. A long correspondence on religious questions is still preserved; but as the letters are chiefly occupied in the discussion of books, which had then recently appeared, but are now generally known, it does not seem necessary to repeat remarks or arguments, which must be familiar to most, and which do not tend directly to illustrate the character of the writers.

Of these, Dr. Chalmers' address to the inhabitants of Kilmaney seems to have engaged a large share of their attention; and there can be little doubt that the intercourse which was thus maintained, and the free discussion of the great and momentous truths which were involved in these subjects, tended to clear Sir Jahleel's views on the essential doctrines of the gospel, and to give the same correctness to his theory of religion, which had long been exhibited in its practical application.

The Works of John Newton had been a favourite study with him. To them he owed much of what he had learned; in them he met with the breathings of a heart, congenial to his own, and the records of an experience which might have reminded him of his own trials; and in Dr. Philip he not only found a man of

a kindred spirit with Newton; but one who had had the advantage of personal knowledge, and easy confidential intercourse with him. One letter of Dr. Philip's, therefore, it seems allowable to introduce, not merely as exhibiting the tone of correspondence between him and the subject of this memoir, but also on account of the original and characteristic sketch which it gives of the venerable old man whose writings they are discussing.

"MY DEAR SIR JAHLEEL,

"I am ashamed when I look at the date of your last kind letter; you must think me a very poor correspondent, I scarcely know what apology to make. I cannot altogether begin with the old stale excuse 'I have been so busy that I could attend to nothing but what forced itself upon me,' for there have been several days in which I have done nothing, if I except the ordinary routine of business in the way of writing. The truth is, I have lately been under the necessity of writing so much, that I have contracted such an aversion to writing, such a horror of mental exertion, that the very thought of doing anything which requires application of mind is ready almost to turn me sick. I do not know whether you can sympathize with me in this, shall I call it loathing of exertion, this mental despondency.

"Accept of my best thanks for your introductory letter to the Admiral; it was very gratifying to my worthy friend, and after what Admiral Lambert has heard from Captain Vernon and others, he will be pleased to see our African traveller and his curiosities. I mentioned to Mr. Campbell, that if Buonaparte had heard of him and his horn, they might be sent for to Longwood. He was flattered by the joke.

"In my former letter I believe I informed you, that I was busy correcting Mr. Campbell's Journal. My labours have been more connected with blotting, than with filling up; but if I have not added much to its beauty, I have pared off things, which

might have offended—deformities; and reduced it to a more reasonable size than my worthy friend would have been disposed to confine it to, had he been left to follow his own judgment. Mr. Campbell is a man of sterling principle, he lives with God, and he would not for the world do what he might consider as an unjust, or a dishonourable thing: but when we can say all this for him, as a man, and as a Christian, we must confess we cannot say so much for him as a writer of Travels.

"I am not at present in possession of Newton's Works, and the passage respecting which you ask my opinion, I do not recollect; but I perfectly agree with him, that a continuance in sin is inconsistent with assurance. But it must be wilful transgression which Mr. Newton intends in this passage. I have known few men more sensible of the depravity of human nature than Mr. Newton was. The language he used respecting himself was always expressive of the deepest abasement and humility. Complaining to him one day of the badness of my own heart, he comforted me rather in a singular way, by assuring me that if I had lived as long as he had done, I should feel ten times more of it. 'I know,' said he, 'more evil of my own heart in one day, than I know of the greatest profligate I have ever known.' I think he was seventy-two years of age when he used this language, and yet while he had those views of himself, he had the firmest assurance. It was the same morning he expressed himself in this manner, that he observed to me, 'I am like a ship waiting the first fair wind to carry her out of port; I have everything on board, I am quite ready for sea. I never lay my head down at night, but I feel it matter of indifference whether I awake in this world or the next.'

"I must confess, though I have failed to make the matter so intelligible as I could have wished, that there is to my apprehension some difference between Mr. Newton and Dr. Chalmers, in the Kilmaney address on this point. The one requires certain things should be done to prepare us for the consolations of the Gospel, the other brings us to the Saviour for those consolations, as necessary to enable us to do those things. The difference is most visible in the first approaches of the penitent to the Saviour for consolation; although all through Mr. Newton's writings it appears to me, the amiable saint was more intimately, and ex-

perimentally acquainted with the way of access to God, and the grounds of a sinner's peace with God, than Dr. Chalmers was, when he wrote the address in question.

"If a man oppresses the fatherless and the widow, if he accumulates a fortune by unrighteousness, or if he has done these things, or things of a similar nature without repentance and restitution as far as in his power, he can have no claim to the consolations of the Gospel; but a man may feel a constant invasion of vain thoughts, the burden of a worldly spirit, evil passions occasionally struggling for the mastery; and still have the comfort of assurance. If sin is the cause of grief, if it is resisted, it is not inconsistent with a lively hope in the mercy of God. The sin which grieves us, and is resisted, says an old writer, will not condemn us. I frequently feel these evils. I feel that in my flesh dwelleth no good thing. I frequently feel cold and formal in my devotions, and these feelings occasionally disturb my peace; but I invariably feel my consolations restored by a renewed application to the blood of Christ. If any man confess his sin, God is faithful and just to forgive him his sin, and to cleanse him from all iniquity. I believe we are both travelling in the same road: that we are both minding the same things: and if we are not exactly of the same opinion in all things, the things in which we are not quite agreed are minor points, and God according to his promise will eventually reveal those things unto us.

"There is an excellent Sermon among Mr. Newton's Discourses on the doctrine of Assurance. I do not know whether you noticed that sermon; if you have not seen it, I would recommend it to your attention. It is many years since I read it, and I cannot state in a particular manner, but I derived much advantage from it, at the time I read it, and the impression made upon my mind by it remains fresh even now. I shall be glad to see the volume you mention, but you need not be in any hurry sending it; I may perhaps see you before I can read much of it.

"With best respects to Miss Brenton, and Miss Isabella, in which Mrs. P. desires to unite with me.

"I am, my dear Sir Jahleel,

"With unabated affection and esteem,

"Your's sincerely,

"JOHN PHILIP."

"CAPE TOWN, FEBRUARY 27, 1821."

CHAPTER XVIII.

BENEVOLENT EXERTIONS IN FAVOUR OF THE NEGRO AND HOTTENTOT POPULATION.— CAPTAIN EDWARD BRENTON'S PLAN FOR THE RESTORATION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS. — ITS CONNECTION WITH THE CAPE, AND FAILURE. — THE ESTABLISHMENT AT SIMON'S TOWN BROKEN UP AT THE DEATH OF BUONAPARTE.— RETURN TO ENGLAND.

THE letter with which the last chapter was closed, is one of many that remain, and which might have been inserted in this Memoir with advantage, if it had not been desirable to restrain the size of a volume, which already exceeds its proposed dimensions; and if enough had not been already said, to answer the purpose for which their insertion might be desirable, the completion of the portraiture of the subject. The reader therefore is at liberty to infer from the tone of one letter, the character of the correspondence in general; and he may perhaps admit that it is one of the felicities of the age to see such a correspondence existing in such a quarter of the world. While men whose lot is cast in the extreme corner of Africa; that portion of our world, which has seemed throughout the history of man to have been resigned to barbarism; are

found discussing such topics, and in such a spirit, the wilderness may indeed be said to blossom as a rose, and the desert is like the garden of the Lord.

But interesting and profitable as such communications must have been to both parties concerned, they were neither of them men likely to leave their talents unimproved, or to allow religious conviction to evaporate in religious discussions. They felt that the light they had received was to shine before men ; and the love of Christ, the principle on which their whole mutual scheme of belief centred and moved, constrained them to live, not for themselves, but for others ; and to evince the gratitude they felt for the mercy that had visited them, and the love which burnt within their own breasts towards Him who had made them what they were, by acts of kindness and benevolence to all around them.

We find Sir Jahleel accordingly at one time warmly interested in the case of the captured Negroes, who had been set at liberty in the Cape, and were employed in the Government works and dockyard. An Act of Parliament had rescued these poor creatures from slavery, but the boon of freedom had been bestowed in a manner which rendered it a slight, or at least a questionable blessing ; and such was the condition in which they were left in the colony, that some doubts might have been felt, whether their happiness would not have been consulted, if the ship which conveyed them from Africa, had been allowed to complete its course, and to discharge its cargo in the West Indies. The men were captured, and were in consequence

declared free by law; but they were set free in a country where they were strangers and destitute of all means of subsistence; and where the means of support were not provided for them at first, nor always attainable by any efforts of their own. The consideration of the Colonial Government had gone so far, as to have assigned them employment in the dockyards; but it was not easy to persuade an emancipated Negro, that it was necessary to work; nor was it easier to teach him how to work so as to make him useful. On this account it seemed necessary to treat them like children, to convert their slavery into a servitude, limited in time and measure; and to consider them as apprentices, that some kind of restraint might thus be exercised over those, who were in point of fact made free, but who seemed hardly capable of making a proper use of their freedom. The form of apprenticeship assimilated their condition in the colonial law to that of the Hottentot; but in doing this, it exposed them to all the injuries under which that injured race of men were groaning, through the system which the Dutch laws had established; and which left them too much at the mercy of the Boors to be regarded as independent or secure.

We have seen in an earlier part of the memoir how earnestly Sir Jahleel strove to obtain protection for these people; and we cannot be surprised if his efforts, extended to the Government at home, as well as to that of the colony, should have brought him into connection with that individual, who filled at the moment the glorious, though unsolicited office of being the

advocate of the oppressed throughout the world. While resident at the Cape, Sir Jahleel was induced to address himself to Mr. Wilberforce, and not only to call his attention to the stealthy modes in which the trade in slaves was carried on through the channel of Mozambique, and to the danger of the Cape becoming a depot for that nefarious traffic; but likewise to the state of the emancipated Negroes, and the native population of the colony. Mr. Wilberforce, whose ear was ever open to the cry of distress, felt at once the value of his new correspondent, and the importance of the appeal. The case of the Cape colony was included in the succeeding measures for the abolition of the slave trade. Public attention was drawn to the existence of the traffic on the eastern coast of Africa, and in the Indian Ocean; and that quarter of the world was protected from the encroachment of the evil, which has blighted the prosperity of the west.

Sir Jahleel Brenton's zeal in behalf of the emancipated Negroes led him likewise to consider the state of the Hottentot population at the Cape; and here he found Dr. Philip engaged in a long, and almost hopeless contest with the Colonial Government, in behalf of that despised and injured people. The original natives of the country, they had been reduced by the Dutch settlers to a state of servitude, in some degree worse than slavery; as the master felt, that while both slave and servant were equally at his disposal and equally under his control, the slave had been purchased, and had cost him something; and the servant had come under his dominion for nothing. Both therefore were to all

intents bondmen; for the servant had no power of changing his master, at least no power which he dared to exercise; and the circumstance of his having been born to nominal freedom, availed nothing, where the law was framed for the sole purpose of securing the master's rights; and where distance from the seat of Government, and the wild independence of the Boor's life, made an appeal to justice all but impossible. The character of the Dutch settlers likewise, sordid and covetous on principle, and at that time filled with hatred of the British influence, as being the dominion of a conqueror; and of British intercourse as likely to introduce a rival and encroaching population; placed them in an attitude of suspicion and defiance. Every attempt made by the Government to ameliorate the condition of the Hottentots was viewed with jealousy by the Boors, as an abridgement of their own rights; and every disposition in the Hottentots to complain was crushed by increased severity, as if it were an act of insurrection. The very efforts of the missionaries to convey to that benighted race the knowledge of the gospel, were contemplated with prejudice and ill-will by the colonists. In consequence every obstacle was thrown in their way. The attendance of the servants was forbidden at all occasions of social worship, or religious instruction. The wish for instruction was considered a crime in the Hottentot; and all that the fierce violence of a brutal mind could suggest, was too often done by the farmers, to subdue the rising spirit of religion, whenever it had been excited by the preaching of the missionaries in their neighbourhood. It is

a painful and humiliating fact that the local regulations of Protestant colonies have been uniformly less favourable to the spiritual improvement of the natives, than those established in Roman Catholic colonies. Not that Protestantism is less lenient in its character, or less congenial with liberty than Romanism, for it is confessedly more so; but the Protestant colonies having been formed in later times, and at times when the church had lost that influence with the state, which it once possessed; the colonial legislation in all the later European settlements was constructed on purely secular grounds, and religion had no voice, because the church had no power.

The Dutch system of Government at the Cape had in other respects much to recommend it. The established religion of the mother country had been introduced in the colony, and been endowed. The character of the settlers, at least of those in the town, would have borne comparison with that of any colony belonging to other European nations; and the Boors themselves, when political or personal jealousies did not intervene, were found hospitable, kind, and correct in general behaviour. The misfortune of the colony arose from the degree of power which was possessed by individuals, not prepared to exercise it properly, and who were subject to great and obvious temptations to abuse it; and thus it happened that the condition to which the Hottentots were reduced under the Dutch law was such, that it became the imperative duty of the British Government to take some steps towards correcting an evil, which seemed intolerable and dis-

graceful to a civilized country. These measures were regarded by the Boors, an uneducated, prejudiced, and overbearing race, as a breach of contract between the Government and themselves; and as an illegal encroachment on those rights which were guaranteed to them when the colony became a part of the British Empire. And these feelings, stimulated by designing men on one side, and aggravated by want of consideration and of conciliatory proceedings on the other, finally led to those acts of resistance which have required military interference, and have endangered for a time the peace and prosperity of this valuable colony.

Sir Jahleel witnessed the working of elements of evil, which were to have their fuller development after he had left the colony. He saw the state of the Negro and the Hottentot population, and he did what he could to ameliorate the condition of each. Had his power been greater, or even had his residence at the Cape been longer, he would have done much towards correcting the evil, and improving the general state of the society; for he possessed in no ordinary degree the qualities which fit man for command, or enable him without command to exercise influence on the minds of others. He had clearness of view, correct judgment, decision, and firmness, combined with patience, sweetness of temper, and the most conciliatory manners. Beyond this, he knew more accurately than most men, the nature of that foundation which must be laid as the security for all permanent prosperity. If the efforts which he did make, were not attended with

complete success, their failure may be ascribed with more reason to the inveterate character of the evil, and to the strength of the opposition raised against them, than to any mistake on his part; and a dispassionate consideration of Cape politics during the last twenty years will justify the wisdom of his proceedings, and will leave room for nothing but regret, that his views were not adopted by those who had the power and opportunity of carrying them on to perfection.

The British Government it is true has done much towards the protection of the oppressed and ill treated Hottentot. The measures set on foot to check the trade in slaves, and to prevent the introduction of slavery into the colony have been successful; and in these respects, the plans which were commenced during Sir Jahleel's residence at the Cape may seem to have been brought to the conclusion that he wished. But the efforts made for the amelioration of the state of the Hottentots were not so immediately successful, and the end which he there had in view has not been accomplished in the most satisfactory manner. At the time when the freedom of the Hottentots was secured by law, the Boors were not convinced that their interests were properly considered in the transaction. Means were not taken to explain to them the real nature of the alteration, which the executive Government felt it necessary to introduce; and men, ignorant as they were in general, and from national prejudice disposed to suspect evil in the measures of their new rulers, were easily persuaded to think that the British Government wished to be generous at their expence; and to

establish a character for benevolence, by depriving them of what they considered as their rights. A compensation for the Hottentots, whom they regarded as slaves, was awarded; and a compensation, which if it had been paid on the spot, and in the currency with which they were familiar, would have satisfied all their wishes. But from a strange fatality of error, this compensation was paid in bills on London, and not in a currency with which they were familiar. The Boor unused to mercantile transactions, and unable to negociate the payment of such securities in the wilderness where his life was past, was obliged to put the bills into other hands, in order to obtain their liquidation. Dishonest adventurers introduced themselves, who offered to undertake the business; but who fixed their own terms, and made their own bargain; and the unfortunate farmer receiving a mere fraction of that which he considered to be the value of his slave, felt that he had been swindled out of his property, by the form of a legal transaction, and looked on the Government as the cause of the loss he had sustained.

The resentment which this treatment gave rise to, led to that singular movement of which we have been obliged to hear so much; and which is only practicable in pastoral nations; when the Boor population, with all its property of herds and flocks, quitted the territory which it used to occupy, and advanced into the Cafir districts, proclaiming as it went its own independence, and seeking a new settlement in the wilderness, exempt from the vexatious interference of the British Government.

As a secession like this militated against all principles of society, and must have led to an aggression on the property of the Cafir tribes, which would have exposed the colony to acts of retaliation on their part, it was necessary that the movement should be checked, and that the rebellious emigrants should be reduced to submission. This has not however been effected without bloodshed and difficulty; and the state of the colony exhibits a melancholy picture of the danger which results from ill-combined or precipitated measures, even when the object in view is one of unquestionable usefulness. The error in execution however must not be allowed to impugn the wisdom of the original design. Had Sir Jahleel Brenton been able to carry out the whole of his benevolent purpose, the feelings of the Boor masters would have been consulted, as well as the security of the Hottentot servant. Allowance would have been made for the jealousies of a prejudiced and ignorant class of men; and no unnecessary offence would have been given. All inevitable suspicion would have been provided for and removed, and the success of the scheme might have been secured by the patience and discretion with which it was advanced to its completion.

It has seemed but just to anticipate events, and to name what is now a matter of colonial history, in order to guard the subject of this memoir from the imputation of having originated, or pressed forward measures, which have led to painful results, and to a temporary disturbance of the peace of the country. There is every reason to hope that the movements which have

thus been glanced at, are by this time effectually subdued, and that the pacification of the colony is secured; but it was necessary to shew that the real causes of the Boors' insurrection were not the restoration of the Hottentots to the rights of human beings, but the working of national prejudices, inseparable from the condition of a conquered settlement; and the resentment cherished by covetous, but ill-informed men, who thought they had been atrociously wronged by a Government, which in their hearts they hated.

The farmers might have been gradually convinced, had proper pains been taken to explain the nature of the change, that it was not right to hold a fellow-creature in the sort of bondage to which the natives were reduced; and had proper measures been adopted in the payment of the compensation money, they might have been made to feel that a fair equivalent was given to them by the Government, which vindicated the slaves from their property, and curtailed the power they had been accustomed to exercise over them.

Sir Jahleel's intimacy with Dr. Philip continued, though the correspondence seems to have dropped after he left the Cape, in proportion as other means were adopted for the improvement of the colony. But his agency was at a subsequent period most advantageously employed in furtherance of a benevolent plan, which originating with Captain Edward Pelham Brenton, was sanctioned and supported by his brother, for rescuing the juvenile delinquents which haunt the streets of London, from their life of misery and sin. It was found on enquiry, that a large portion of this wretched

class, which it was at one time calculated amounted to nearly 15,000 lads and boys, living without a home or shelter, or anything like regular employment; consisted of deserted orphans, or of boys who had escaped from the metropolitan workhouses. These unhappy outcasts of society either earned a precarious living by sweeping the streets, and holding horses at markets, and places of public resort, or else maintained themselves by petty acts of plunder. Their dwelling was found in the uninhabited houses on the outskirts of London, the dry arches of bridges, or some such like receptacle; and here they were congregated together at night, if they failed in finding admission to some of the haunts of infamy and vice. Their habits necessarily exposed them to the suspicion of the police, and their wants soon brought them under its notice. The commission to prison for some petty theft put the stamp of crime on the character, and introduced them to the acquaintance of more advanced and hardened accomplices. The first imprisonment therefore was speedily followed by another. Crime followed crime by a kind of necessary sequence, though crime became more atrocious as it was repeated; and after a succession of imprisonments had been found ineffectual to reclaim an offender, who had no means of living but by the offence, which subjected him to punishment; the unhappy lad received a final sentence of transportation, and was sent to fill up the measure of his sufferings and his guilt in a penal colony.

Captain Brenton conceived that something might be done for these poor creatures, and that if it might be

done, it should be done. He had seen the wonderful effect produced on the mind by the discipline of a king's ship, when that discipline was tempered by discretion and kindness; and he resolved to make an experiment on that class, which the world was disposed to regard as the most lost and the most hopeless, the juvenile delinquents of the metropolis. The enquiries he had made into the cases of individuals had satisfied him, that their misery was often the occasion of their crime; and that they were driven by want of necessaries, which they had not any possible means of obtaining, to the acts of dishonesty which exposed them to punishment. Many of them had assured him, and with appearances of sincerity, which it would have been inhumanity to doubt, that they hated the life that they were leading; and that they should embrace with thankfulness any course of labour, which offered them security and food; and he was willing to make an experiment on a small scale, of what might be done towards recovering these outcasts of the world. Premises were taken in the parish of Hackney, and fitted up for the accommodation of seventy or eighty boys. A man eminently qualified for the situation of the head of such an establishment was found, and found willing to undertake it. An outfit of the simplest and most economical kind was provided, with cots for the boys to sleep in, spades and other tools for working in the garden, and the usual supply of school requisites for their education. In a little volume entitled 'The Bible and the Spade,' Captain Brenton explained the plan of his benevolent undertaking; and the place was soon

filled with boys swept from the streets of London, and for the first time in their lives brought under the influence of Christian education; and allowed to taste the comforts of a settled home, cleanliness, warmth and a regular supply of food.

The first results were highly satisfactory. The mixture of kindness and vivacity in the master's manner, seemed to awaken the sluggish energies of the idle, and to attach the affections of boys, who had hardly ever been addressed in such a tone before. Activity prevailed in the school, and in the garden; and what was of still more importance, a sense of self-respect, and a desire of honest independence, began to shew itself in the boys, and to encourage hopes of the commencement of a moral change in the character of the inmates. The effect to be expected from the discipline of the school, would however have been less encouraging, if the boys were to have been returned to the society from which they were rescued, as soon as they were discharged. It could not have been hoped that such a change of habit as this temporary withdrawal from evil produced, should resist the temptations with which they would then be surrounded; and Captain Brenton shewed as much knowledge of human nature as benevolence, when he arranged as a subsidiary, but essential part of his system, the transfer of his pupils to a new and less exposed situation. The friendly services of Dr. Philip were therefore here called in to provide for these reclaimed delinquents, places of employment at the Cape. The services of an English boy, though ill-

educated and rude, were of some value to colonists, who were dependent on the half reclaimed savages of the country; and the mere recollection of what these boys had known of the usages of civilized life, enabled them to imitate what their masters had never seen. The demand accordingly increased. The boys who had gone out, and who had found situations as servants, or cattle-keepers, wrote back favourable accounts of their condition; and a resource seemed opened, which might have relieved London of some of its misery, and might have carried some new comforts into the wilderness of the Cape.

It is with regret that the conclusion of the attempt must be reported; but it is well that men should be aware, that he who endeavours to assist the worst of his species, must lay his account to expect from them the worst of treatment in return.

Captain Brenton had been induced at the request of a worthless couple, to admit their son into the refuge, and to send him to the Cape as an apprentice. The parents when they found that the boy was gone, conceived that they had got the means of extorting money from his benefactor. They pretended to be anxious about their child, and to be dissatisfied with the representations made to them of his position. They carried their complaint to the Lord Mayor, and declared that the boy had been kidnapped. The public papers took the cause up with violence, and added publicity to the charge. The boy was sent for from the Cape, but before he could be brought back, a sudden attack of gout, to which Captain Brenton was subject, and which

came on, the evening subsequent to a public meeting, carried him off; and left the refuge at Hackney Wick a monument of his benevolence, and of the ingratitude that he met with. It is to be hoped however that the benefit of his example will not be lost. The public seems now to be agreed that steps must be taken to remove the evil of such a population of juvenile delinquents; and will probably feel that as prevention is better than cure, it will be expedient to withdraw those who have once fallen, from the scene of past exposure, and to assist their removal to a country where a new course of life may be commenced under happier circumstances. The advantages of possessing such an agency as that of Dr. Philip, will then at least be appreciated, and the public will endeavour to renew a system, which twenty years ago was denounced.*

The time however came, when the more active part of Sir Jahleel's life was to be closed, and he was to be withdrawn from his sphere of labour at the Cape. The general pacification which ensued after the battle of Waterloo justified the reduction of all our colonial establishments; and in the year 1821, Sir Jahleel received directions to wind up the accounts of the Naval Commissioner at the Cape, and to place the dockyard on a reduced scale. It was not possible that

* The Editor cannot do otherwise on this occasion than direct his readers' attention to a little volume which was drawn up by Sir Jahleel, which on many accounts deserves notice; viz.—"The Memoir of Captain Edward Pelham Brenton, R.N. C.B., with Sketches of his Professional Life, and Exertions in the Cause of Humanity."—8vo., *Nisbet, London.*

he should leave the Cape without deep feelings of regret, increased by the recollections of what he had lost, and what he had left there; but no regret that he experienced at leaving a place endeared to him by so many associations, could equal that of those who seemed to lose in him, the protector, the patron, and the friend whom they had learnt to value and appreciate. During the years of his residence there, he had been occupied unremittingly in some work of benevolence or kindness. There was hardly a class in society which had not received some benefit through his intervention; and there were many who felt that but for him they should have received none. The society in which he had moved were conscious that the mind that had added charms to their intercourse, and elevation to its tone, was to be withdrawn; while the poor and the oppressed, whether English or Dutch, Hottentot or Negro, felt that the resource to which they should have applied in the first place, and with the greatest hope of relief, was taken from them; and that no door would be found, to which they could turn with equal confidence, when that of the Commissioner's was closed.

The brief narrative of his voyage home may be given in his own words, and as it is with this that his own memoir of his life concludes, it is well that he should tell the tale of his last experience on an element, where he had done so much and suffered so much.

"When the news of the death of Buonaparte, which took place at St. Helena, on the 5th of May, 1821, reached England, orders were dispatched to the Cape

of Good Hope for reducing the establishment of the dockyard at Simon's Bay, and leaving the stores in the charge of a clerk and a foreman of the shipwrights, to assist in the repair of such ships as might occasionally arrive. On the 6th of November, 1821, I embarked with my family on board the Vigo, bearing the flag of Rear Admiral Lambert. We arrived at St. Helena on the 21st, and after staying there a week, we proceeded on our way to England. Having got to the northward of the Tropic, we experienced very bad weather, a continuance of heavy gales from the Westward. In one of these gales, an event occurred, which should be recorded, as it shews from what very slight causes the most serious accidents may arise. In the evening of the 26th December, the wind having moderated, a reef was let out of the main topsail, and the top gallant mast and yard were got up. It continued however to freshen again in the night, and before morning it was found necessary to close reef the main topsail again, to get down the yard and to shape the top gallant mast. While employed in the latter operation, the ship took a very heavy lurch, (she was then scudding) and the people who had hold of the mast rope were violently thrown to leeward. The force this circumstance gave to the mast rope, lifted the heel of the top gallant mast above the cross trees, and rendered all further efforts to strike the mast unavailing. Before any fresh efforts could be made, the topmast springstay gave way, and the topmast stay soon followed, when the mast went, a few feet above the cap, and falling upon the lee topsail yard-arm, carried that

away; and the accumulated wreck coming down upon the main yard, carried away the lee lift, by which the weather quarter of the main yard, coming in contact with the top, gave way, carrying with it the weather side of the top crosstrees; thus rendering the main-mast completely disabled, as far as its sails were concerned. At this moment the ship broached too, against a tremendous sea, but providentially without any serious damage. From this circumstance may be seen the importance of not delaying to get down a top gallant mast in time, when a gale is evidently increasing. We arrived at Spithead on the 1st of January, 1822, and it was a singular coincidence that we had left England precisely on that day seven years before."

With his return to England the more active part of Sir Jahleel Brenton's professional life was closed. In one sense it might have been said to have ended, when he fell wounded on the deck of the Spartan; for from that time he was incapable of supporting the fatigues inseparable from active service, and nothing but zeal for his profession, combined with a more than ordinary measure of firmness of mind, could have carried him through the duties of the situations which he subsequently filled. The manner in which the duties of the Commissioner's office at the Cape, and those of situations still more important which he filled at home were afterwards discharged, may serve to shew that man's powers of usefulness are not limited by the powers of the body; and the supremacy of mind is exhibited

most distinctly, where the corporeal part only hinders the exertions which are required from the man.

His first object in returning to England was to seek for the children committed to his charge the shelter and advantages of home; and the affection which bound all the members of his large family together, soon secured to him and them every human consolation and support.

The length of the war which was at last closed, and the general pacification of the world that followed on the death of Napoleon, precluded all idea of active service; and though the feeling which had animated his professional life still existed, and a hope that he might yet have to hoist his own flag, and be again entrusted with command, never was entirely lost, he prepared himself for pursuits of a different kind, and endeavoured to improve the leisure which he had so gloriously won.

Shortly after his return home he received a gratifying proof of the opinion entertained of the services he had rendered to his country, by his appointment to the temporary command of the Royal Charlotte Yacht, at the request of His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, when the yacht was employed to convey the Duke and the Duchess to Antwerp, in the summer of 1822.

Shortly after his return from Antwerp he married Miss Harriet Brenton, his cousin, fourth daughter of the late James Brenton, Esq. one of the Judges of Halifax, in Nova Scotia; and though still incapable of active service, and suffering at intervals extreme pain from his wound, which shewed a continual tendency to in-

flammation, he was much occupied in attending Committees in London on professional subjects, to which he was called by the Lords of the Admiralty. During the same period he had the happiness of making the personal acquaintance of Mr. Wilberforce, whom he had previously only known by correspondence, or as a public character; and he shared with every one who had the privilege of knowing that excellent man, the feelings of fascination which belonged to the warmth of his heart and the powers of his conversation.

The state of his health at the close of 1823 rendered it desirable that he should remove to Bath, where, in the commencement of the following year, his youngest daughter, Harriet Mary, was born. During this period his correspondence with Mr. Wilberforce, and with his respected friend at the Cape, Dr. Philip, offer many interesting specimens of the zeal with which he laboured, under circumstances that would have chilled the spirit of most men, to promote the welfare both temporal and eternal of all who had ever been placed beneath his care. But it seems unnecessary to extend the Memoir of such a life by extracts that only repeat the exhibition of a character more effectually pourtrayed by actions; and enough has been already said to enable the reader to understand and appreciate the mind by which that character was formed.

In the year 1825 Sir Jahleel received the appointment of Colonel of Marines, and removed to a cottage in Hampshire, where he had opportunity for indulging his taste for country pursuits, which, next to those of

his profession, were the objects of his preference and his favourite resource. In this retirement he regained in a considerable degree both health and strength, and with returning powers he felt himself justified in applying for employment on active service. In consequence of his application he was appointed in November, 1829, to the command of H.M.S. Donegal, at that time stationed as the Guard Ship at Sheerness. He retained this command however only till the summer of 1830, when he was promoted to the rank of Rear Admiral of the Blue. This increase of rank was however accompanied by a very serious diminution of income; and on leaving the Donegal he thought it expedient to take a small house at Stoke, near Plymouth, which for the time became his home; and here, though occasionally suffering severely from his wound and from gout, he found in his home circle, and the resources which his pencil and his books supplied, the materials of a very happy existence.

In the following year a situation of a very different kind was proposed to him, in the appointment of Lieut. Governor to Greenwich Hospital; and as the circumstances under which the offer was made, and finally accepted, are honourable to all the parties engaged in the transaction, and serve to reflect light on the character of our subject; the Editor feels that on this occasion he may introduce some portions of a correspondence which in its original form might have been considered private. The proposal was made by Sir James Graham, then First Lord of the Admiralty, in the following letter.

ADMIRALTY, 24th JULY, 1831.

"SIR,

"The situation of Lieutenant Governor of Greenwich Hospital has become vacant by the death of Captain Brewell, and it has been determined to offer the appointment to a Rear Admiral. The salary is £800 a year, with apartments and other contingent advantages; but of course the half-pay of the officer holding the situation ceases, and his future promotion and chance for active employment is stopped.

"The duties also of Lieutenant Governor require constant residence, and active exertion; for the discipline and good order of this great establishment depend very much upon his attention and regular care; and no officer is worthy of the appointment who is not prepared to second Sir Richard Keats in the constant and anxious endeavours which he makes, and in his exemplary zeal to uphold the character and to sustain the honour of that institution which is the pride of our naval history.

"Considering your services, your wounds, and your distinguished reputation, I have thought it my duty to recommend you to His Majesty for the appointment; and the king has been graciously pleased to command me to offer it to you, as a mark of his favour and approbation. I have stated to you explicitly the conditions, and you will not accept the situation with any other prospect.

"At all events, in offering it to you, I am glad of an opportunity of proving my respect for your character, and my sense of the services which you have rendered to your country.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"Signed, J. B. GRAHAM."

"REAR-ADMIRAL SIR JAHLEEL BRENTON."

To this letter, kind and flattering as it was, the following answer was returned; and if the reader bears in mind that it was written from a cottage, by a man whose narrow income hardly allowed him to offer to

his wife and child anything beyond the comforts of a very quiet home, and to whom the situation at Greenwich must have seemed comparative affluence; he will know how to appreciate the high professional spirit which revolted at the conditions proposed, and refused the offer of the dignified and agreeable position at the hospital, if it was to preclude all the opportunities of active employment in the service.

"DEVONPORT, JULY 26th, 1831.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to acknowledge your letter of the 24th, and to assure you that I feel most grateful for the flattering manner in which you are pleased to mention my services, and for your great kindness in recommending me to His Majesty, to fill the situation of Lieutenant Governor of Greenwich Hospital.

"As you have been pleased to enumerate the conditions attached to the acceptance of this office, I feel convinced you will expect that I should be guided in my decision by the view I take of them; and this induces me respectfully to decline the kind offer, as I cannot willingly give up the hope of active service and of future promotion.

"I am well aware how many there are of my brother officers, and those of distinguished reputation, who are candidates for employment; and how very few are the situations to which we are eligible; but I shall most cheerfully submit to your decision upon our respective claims, and should no opportunity offer for my being called into active service, I shall in my retirement have the comfort of feeling, that my professional life has been amply rewarded by the approbation it has received from His Majesty and the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

"As I conceive that His Majesty was pleased to express his consent to my receiving the appointment, with a view to its being acceptable to me, I trust I shall not appear insensible to the high honour of his most gracious approbation in thus declining it; and

I am the more confirmed in this assurance, from His Majesty's having in his answer to my request for the appointment of Commissioner at Portsmouth, expressed himself in the following manner.

"'*I trust whenever His Majesty shall command a promotion of flag officers, I shall have the pleasure of seeing you become an Admiral, in that state of health which may enable you in that exalted rank to be of more service to your king and country.*'

"I beg leave in conclusion to repeat how deeply and sincerely grateful I feel, for the approbation you have so kindly expressed upon my conduct; which under all circumstances will be a source of the greatest satisfaction, and which I hope to retain to the end of my days.

"I have, &c.

"J. BRENTON."

"To the Right Honourable
Sir J. Graham."

It might have been apprehended that the correspondence would have been closed by this reply; and that Sir Jahleel Brenton might have been left to experience in retirement and poverty the consequences of his inveterate attachment to the active duties of his service.

It is satisfactory to know that this was not the result; that William IV. then king, remembered the hopes which he had held out as Duke of Clarence, and Lord High Admiral; and that the first Lord had the pleasure of bestowing the situation which he had been so glad to offer. The next post brought the following letter from the Admiralty.

"Admiralty, July 29th, 1831.

"Sir,

"I have had the pleasure of receiving your letter in reply to mine of the 24th, and I have been induced by the highly

honourable feelings which you have expressed upon declining the acceptance of the situation of Lieutenant Governor of Greenwich Hospital, to propose to the King, that His Majesty should make some alterations as to the conditions upon which the appointment was offered to you; being in hopes that the country may still have the benefit of the services of so distinguished an officer, should an occasion offer for your having a command afloat.

"His Majesty has been pleased to signify to me his royal pleasure that the appointment should be offered to you, with the understanding, that when your turn for a flag promotion comes for your being raised to the rank of Vice-Admiral, you may exercise a choice, and either take the step resigning the appointment, or hold the appointment forfeiting the promotion.

"If this relaxation in the conditions I before mentioned to you be satisfactory, I shall be glad to hear that you consider the appointment as one you would like to fill, and I shall be glad to have a reply from you at your earliest convenience.

"I have, &c.

"J. B. GRAHAM."

This gratifying communication from the First Lord removed the difficulties which had prevented Sir Jahleel from accepting with thankfulness a situation so comfortable in itself, and so full of interest for one who felt as he did for the welfare of seamen in general. The answer, which was written the next day, announced his acceptance of the appointment, in the following words :—

"DEVONPORT, 30th JULY, 1831.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to acknowledge your letter of yesterday, which I have just received; and I lose not a moment in assuring you how truly and sincerely grateful I feel for your

kindness, and for the steps you have been pleased to take in my behalf with His Majesty.

"I can in consequence no longer feel any objection to the honourable situation, to which you have had the goodness to nominate me, and hope to fulfil the duties of it in such a manner as to merit the continuance of your approbation. I hope in a few days to have the honour of expressing in person the deep sense I have of the interest you have so kindly manifested in my behalf.

"I have the honour, &c.

"J. BRENTON."

The appointment having been offered and thus thankfully received, no time was lost in taking possession, and in entering on the duties of the office. Sir Jahleel went up at once to London, and presented himself at the Admiralty; and had there a long and satisfactory conversation with Sir James Graham, who said that he was so much impressed by the sentiments contained in his letter that he had sent it to the King; that His Majesty was also struck with the statement, and had of his own mind suggested the arrangement. Sir James further recommended his waiting on the King, and when Sir Jahleel observed that he had no uniform in town, overruled the objection, and advised him to leave all with Sir Herbert Taylor to settle. In a letter addressed to Lady Brenton on the occasion, he says, "I went to St. James's, and had a most gracious interview with His Majesty; who made me sit down and have a long conversation with him. He asked how I liked the arrangement, and whether I clearly understood the conditions. I said, I understood them to be, that as soon as it came to my turn to be pro-

moted to a Vice-Admiral, I should have my choice between remaining as Lieutenant Governor, and taking my rank. No, said His Majesty, that is not it. You shall keep the Lieutenant Governorship as Vice-Admiral; but when you are to have a flag at the main, then you shall choose whether you remain or take the promotion; but not before. He then asked after my health, which I told him was quite good with the exception of a little gout. Gout is nothing said he. No, replied I, and I hope yet to have the pleasure of serving your Majesty at sea. To this he said, that was of course out of the question at present. He then talked of the squadron, as to their sailing, &c. He added many very civil things, and then wished me a good morning, saying, this was a busy day with him. So much for the interview."

Sir Jahleel was happy to find that the situation at Greenwich in point of household accommodation and comforts, exceeded his expectation, and offered all that he could have wished to find. He was equally pleased with the reception he met with from that distinguished officer, Sir R. Keats, the Governor, and the other official neighbours whom he found there; nor was he less delighted by finding among the pensioners who were thenceforth to be under his control, some of those who had shared the perils and the glories of his active service. In a letter to his sister, in describing the Hospital, he writes, "I have found several of my old shipmates there, and amongst others my old steward of the Spartan, John Davis, who is very useful in attending to the needful, and may be more so when the

things come. I was not a little amused yesterday at the old carpenter's mate of the Spartan, who accosted me with congratulations, and said, 'Here we are sir, laid up together in Greenwich tier;' thinking, I dare say, what lucky fellows we both were to get into such a snug berth; and there is some truth in it too."

It was in the month of September, 1831, that Sir Jahleel took possession of his apartments at Greenwich Hospital, with a mind relieved from the dread of having relinquished all hopes of active employment, and with an earnest desire to devote all the energies of his mind and heart to the welfare and improvement of the establishment. With what zeal he entered on the duties of his office, and with what tender concern he watched over the people committed to his charge, the men who were the objects of his care, and those who were the associates of his employment can testify. It was hardly possible to have conceived a man more perfectly fitted for the situation which he had to fill at Greenwich; and the old veterans who had either known or heard of his character as an officer, and were prepared to receive their new Lieutenant Governor with the honour due to his gallantry and atchievements, were delighted to find the tenderness of a parent exhibited in his consideration of their wants, and to see the kind cheerfulness of a sailor tempered by all the dignity of a Christian in his manners and conversation.

During the period of his office, that excellent establishment, the Naval School, was re-organized; various improvements were introduced in the internal economy

of the Hospital; libraries were formed for the amusement of the inmates in their hours of leisure; and much was done for the amelioration of their general habits. But his usefulness was not limited to the precincts of the Hospital. Placed as he was at an easy distance from the metropolis, he was able to obey many calls of benevolence; and to lend his help to many excellent institutions, whether connected with the navy or not. The Sailors' Home, an establishment which the country owes to the devoted and disinterested labours of Captain Elliot, and the few who laboured with him; and in which the country has incurred a debt which she never will be able to repay; was from its commencement an object of the deepest interest to Sir Jahleel Brenton; and his advice, his interest, his assistance, as far as his means permitted, were always given, and given without reserve to the promoters of the work. At the same time, the condition of the seamen belonging to the port of London, the snares to which they were exposed, the treatment that they met with from their employers, were the subject of his continued thought and exertions.

It was during this period likewise that he was able to lend some help to his brother, Captain Edward Brenton, in his praiseworthy exertions in behalf of that wretched class, the scandal and the plague of our metropolis,—the juvenile delinquents; exertions, to which reference has already been made, and which the world seems now disposed to estimate more justly than it did at first. He attended the last meeting of that association, though in a state of health which rendered the effort

very painful; and both he and his brother were attacked by gout the next day. This attack in Captain Brenton's case terminated fatally, and in Sir Jahleel's was accompanied with considerable danger and long confinement.

In the year 1833 Sir Jahleel went over to France, and passed a fortnight of great enjoyment with his sister and brother-in-law at St. Omers. He here had the opportunity of retracing the beautiful scenes with which he had been familiar in his boyish days, and enriched his portfolio with many interesting sketches.

The next year he visited the same beloved relatives at Paris, and on that occasion a little circumstance occurred, which it seems right to mention, both as exhibiting the firmness with which he held his own religious principles, and the respect paid to that firmness by an individual who occupies a very important place in the history of our times. As his stay in Paris lasted some weeks, Sir Jahleel felt it his duty to pay his respects to H. M. Louis Philippe, whom, as Duke of Orleans, he had met in the Mediterranean, and with whose mother, the Duchess of Orleans, he had been intimately acquainted while Commissioner at Port Mahon. It was not the season for public presentations, and he therefore communicated his wish in a private note addressed to one of the officers of state, who had the charge of arranging such interviews; and the reply fixed the following Sunday evening for the time of reception. Sir Jahleel returned an answer expressing his deep regret that he could not obey the summons of His Majesty on that

day, as it was one which he regarded as sacred, and which he invariably devoted to other objects.

It is gratifying to be able to add the reply which this answer obtained, and as the document is in existence, it is well to repeat the original of a message, as honourable to him who dictated it, as it was to him who received it.

PALAIS DE NEUILLY, LE 21 JUILLET, 1834.

"AIDE DE CAMP DE SERVICE PRES DU ROI,

"L'aide de Camp de Service a l' honneur d'informer Monsieur le Contre Amiral Brenton, que le motif, qui l'a empêché de venir hier a Neuilly a été apprecié par le Roi; et que Sa Majesté l' y recevra demain Mardi 22 Juillet, a 8 heures du Soir."

At the time thus designated Sir Jahleel presented himself at Neuilly. He was received by the King with his usual condescension and kindness, and was introduced to the Queen and the family circle by which he was surrounded.

This interview was soon followed by an invitation to dine at the Tuilleries, and the King apparently made a point of testifying his respect for the scrupulous firmness, with which the honour of his first invitation had been declined.

During the latter part of Sir Jahleel's residence at Greenwich, he took great interest in the Society which was formed for the relief of Shipwrecked Mariners, and carried on an extensive correspondence on the subject. He likewise wrote and published his Appeal to the British Nation, on the state of the seamen, with the

intention of creating a feeling for the Sailors' Home and the Seamen's Refuge; and this work was followed by a more enlarged and pointed appeal, under the title of "The Hope of the Navy."

The publication of this work led to the following letter from the excellent Mrs. Fry, which seems worth inserting, as exhibiting the contest in her mind between customs which she condemned, and principles which she approved of and admired.

"UPTON WEST HAM, 10, 6, 1840.

"DEAR FRIEND,

"I now forward thee the answers from Thomas Webber, and shall be much pleased if he can get into the Hospital at Greenwich.

"I feel obliged by thy kind attention to my request. Previous to my writing to thee, and thinking of the case of T. Webber, I had written to Nisbet respecting thy book, advising its being recommended for our ships of war. Thou knowest most probably that my views are, that pure Christian principle must lead out of all war, and bring peace eventually to all mankind; therefore I could not encourage the circulation of any book that promoted war. But I think in this the Christian spirit is so much upheld, that it will on the whole promote the love of peace on earth, and good will to men.

"I think the retirement of the country will be very pleasant to Lady Brenton and thyself. I hope you will find it useful to you.

"I remain,

"With Christian regard and esteem, thy friend,

"ELIZABETH FRY."

In these happy occupations, interrupted frequently by severe attacks of gout, but always resumed as soon as returning strength permitted; with a mind which

watched the progress of events with anxiety, but which drew from the faith by which it lived, a fund of cheerful and overflowing kindness which nothing could repress; he passed the years of his residence at Greenwich. The death of his brother, Captain E. Brenton, which took place after a very short illness in 1839, was a severe blow; and his own constitution weakened by repeated attacks of the same debilitating malady, led him to think that it might be necessary to try change of air, as a palliative or a cure. He went for this purpose to try the effect of the German baths; and through Ostend, Brussels, and Cologne, reached Wisbaden. The waters at first appeared to succeed admirably. His strength and spirits revived; the affectionate relatives with whom he was travelling were delighted with his progress, and flattered themselves with the hope that he was to derive some marked and enduring improvement. At this time however his youngest daughter was seized with fever, which was pronounced to be typhus; and from that moment, anxiety for her absorbed every other feeling. Through the mercy of God her life was spared, and the anxious parents were permitted to carry back to England the child over which their anxieties had been so painfully exercised. The union of intense feeling and patient resignation which his conduct on this occasion exhibited, struck even those, who had been accustomed to see him on previous occasions of trial; and left impressions which it has been their delight subsequently to recal.

He returned to England, but shortly after his return

was seized with another fit of gout, more severe and more tedious than any he had previously endured. But even then, his sick-room is described as being the abode of patience and of peace; and when he was not actually suffering from severe pain, it was the scene of constant cheerfulness. The tenderness of his feelings for others overcame all sense of personal suffering, and the gratitude which he shewed for every attention however trifling, during his illness, was touching to all who had anything to do with him.

With the spring of 1840 he began to recover his strength, and the first use he made of that recovery was to resume his labours for the good of others, and to occupy himself with schemes of benevolence. It was obvious however that his strength was no longer equal to the exertions he had been accustomed to make. The position that he occupied at Greenwich had likewise lost some of its charms, for the promotion which took place on the Queen's coronation in 1838, would have raised him to the rank of Vice-Admiral, and he had indulged the hope, that the promise which was made him on accepting the appointment, that his rank should go on without the alternative of resignation, would have been confirmed. This however was not the case, and though the circumstances of his family induced him to submit to what he regarded as a painful degradation, by retaining the office at the sacrifice of rank; it was not without a severe struggle that he resigned the hope of active employment, and submitted to the conditions imposed on his situation.

The events which have been previously mentioned

acted with greater power on a mind which had been thus deprived of its chief object through life; and when in 1840, a good service pension became available by the death of Sir Sidney Smith; he determined on exchanging his situation at Greenwich for that, and on retiring from public life. His first removal was to Casterton, near Kirkby Lonsdale, where he occupied the Rectory house; and in that delightful scenery, and in the society of the excellent family at the hall, he found a retreat such as he had often imagined, but perhaps had never met with before. Once settled there, he began to enter into the objects of interest with which he was surrounded; and it was hoped that the change of air and scene might have had a decided and beneficial effect on his health. His mind certainly was cheered, and his professional feelings gratified, by a letter received at this time from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, informing him that he had been promoted to the rank of Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and that his name was placed on the list of Flag Officers of the fleet, in the order in which it would have stood, if he had not been passed over in the promotion of the 28th June, 1838.

His residence at Casterton did not however continue beyond the first year. The climate was found too humid, and the distance from medical advice was severely felt by one, who was subject to sudden and severe attacks, and who had been accustomed to the advantages connected with Greenwich Hospital. On leaving Casterton he took a house at Elford, in Staffordshire, and while residing there, he published the

memoir of his much beloved brother, Captain Edward Pelham Brenton, which has been already named. He explains in the work the motives which led him to undertake it. In the year 1840 he also published a pamphlet on the importance of the coast fishery, both as forming a nursery for seamen, and as opening to our increasing population a vast increase of the means of subsistence.

In the midst of these calm and useful occupations the love of his profession still retained its power. The change of place and prolonged repose appeared to have been beneficial to his health; with returning strength his desire for active employment revived; and his health and spirits having been renovated by a visit to Portsmouth, he wrote to the First Lord of the Admiralty, and asked for a command. This application would no doubt have been complied with, and the last object of his ambition attained, had it pleased God to spare his life; but a cold caught early in the spring of the year 1844 brought on a fit of the gout, from which he never rallied; and under this, his constitution shattered by long extended suffering, gradually gave way. In the commencement of this illness he expressed his firm conviction, that he should not recover; but those around him, who had seen him rally on former occasions, and felt that all the warmth and energy of his earlier years remained unbroken, were unwilling to admit his apprehensions, and flattered themselves that they arose only from the depressing effects of the malady under which he laboured.

Three days previous to his death, Lady Brenton

was reading to him the fifty-ninth chapter of Isaiah, and it drew from him some strong and striking declarations of his own state. He dwelt in confession on his own unworthiness, but added the expression of his firm confidence and lively hope in the merits of his Redeemer. He said that he felt that he had nothing to plead, nothing to bring forward in his own behalf. Free undeserved grace was his only hope; to that he looked, and it was on that he rested; but it was in the full assurance of faith that he did so.

This was his last conversation. From that time he dozed almost incessantly, and seemed unwilling to be disturbed to take the prescribed medicine. But as soon as he perceived that the refusal distressed Lady Brenton, who was his constant attendant, he immediately made the required effort, and expressed his regret at having given her pain. On the evening of Saturday, April 2nd, his sister, Mrs. John Brenton, found him sufficiently awake to converse for a few minutes, when he inquired in his usual affectionate manner after all the members of the family. He then seemed pleased to find that she and Lady Brenton were conversing together in his room, and expressed the delight he felt at seeing those he loved around him.

He passed a restless night, but the medical report in the morning was rather favourable; indeed it was so favourable, that every member of the family except Lady Brenton, went to church both morning and afternoon. Lady Brenton however during her solitary watching, felt an undescribable alarm, for which she

could not account, except from the constant stupor of her husband. Uneasy without being able to explain the cause of her uneasiness, she longed for the hour when his medical attendants would again visit him. Providentially they were with her when the crisis came, and they were standing with her by the bed side when a sudden spasm came on, and in a moment all was over, and the vital spark had fled.

The narrative of a man's life is his character. It is not the Editor's wish to add to this memoir of Sir Jahleel Brenton any laboured or detailed description of its subject, for he feels, that if his readers have not learnt to appreciate the man by his behaviour under the various trials which have been included in the narrative, it is hardly to be hoped that they should be taught it by any other mode of representation. Had space permitted, or had it been felt proper to draw more largely from his correspondence, something no doubt might have been added to the effect produced by the story. Sir Jahleel left behind him many papers on moral and religious topics, which do equal credit to his head and heart, and which are interesting evidences of the depth and seriousness of his feelings. No one however who has perused the preceding pages can doubt of the reality or the soundness of his religious principles, and it is unnecessary to multiply evidence of a fact, which all are agreed in believing. Some regret is experienced in withholding the letters written to his family, and the journals kept for their information during his tours on the continent; for in addition to the picture which they give of kind affectionate

feelings, and playful kindness, they exhibit much descriptive talent. But the sacredness of private communications should never be violated without a cause; and it can hardly be necessary to add a line to the numberless instances of affection and regard which abound throughout the narrative, in order to strengthen the impression as to the character of Sir Jahleel in these respects.

The Editor is happy to add that the First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Haddington, testified his sense of the services he had rendered to his country by promoting his son-in-law, Mr. Brenton Stewart, at the earliest opportunity. If the life then which is now submitted to the public is not one of unmixed success or prosperity; if it is chequered by adverse circumstances and occasional disappointments of just and reasonable hope, it is not the less instructive on that account; while the general result is still such as to encourage imitation. The man who serves the world, unquestionably, serves a hard master; and if he looks to the world's gratitude for his reward, he will most probably be grievously disappointed. But the man who serves God, while doing his duty in the world, may still expect to meet the blessing of his master even in the things of the world. These indeed are not the reward he seeks, nor are they the real objects of his pursuit; but in God's overruling providence they are generally given to those whose ways please Him; and they may be thankfully received as tokens of his favour, though they do not form the portion of His children.

Under other circumstances Sir Jahleel might have risen higher in his profession; his name might have occupied a place among the great naval leaders of the country; he might have been called to share in the counsels of his sovereign; and his family might have been left in affluence and distinction. But for one who rises so high, hundreds fail; and thousands fall below the mark of notice, and live and die unknown. The measure of success which Sir Jahleel met with in his profession, was perhaps as much as it was safe for man to have; and those who saw the veneration with which he was regarded in public, and the love and the affection with which he was surrounded at home; the sense entertained of his value by those who could appreciate his character as an officer, and the regard and esteem which his manners and conversation conciliated from all; must have felt that the world had not much to add where God had given so largely.

At all events, death, the great test of what is good for man and evil, has now settled the question beyond a doubt. If there were disappointments in his course, they are forgotten, or only regarded as trials sent in mercy, to prove the power of that grace by which they were surmounted. If there were sufferings, sorrows, afflictions, they are now seen to be means, by which a Heavenly Father's love subdued the wandering affections of his child, and drew to Himself that heart which was not to be given to the creature.

The very things that seemed to be against him are doubtless now felt to have been for him; and the saint in light recognizes the wisdom and the mercy which

directed the discipline of the saint on earth. As such, his narrative is offered with the more confidence to those, who may with reason be urged to take his character as their model for imitation; and the young man who enters his profession with the spirit and the mind of Sir Jahleel Brenton, may be well content to look forward to an old age, cheered as his was, by the recollection of past services, and rich in the enjoyment of a peace which the world could neither give nor take away.

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